A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN

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BY

SIR SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT.D.

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended primarily for High School students, but it is hoped that it will prove of use to other students also. I have always felt the need for a book, which, while not neglecting other aspects of our activities, will focus the attention of the people on those permanent elements of our civilization which have moulded the thought and life of Asia. Indian History, when viewed in this light, is not a mere record of meaningless, isolated and barren conflicts, but an expression, in a concrete and visible form, of development, of growth and of organic unity. There is unity in her diversity, and the story of the Indian people is that of a ceaseless endeavour for the attainment of that unity.

I have tried to tell, not merely the story of kings and queens, but also the story of the Indian people—of their mode of life, culture, occupations, literature, art and government. I hope I have succeeded in my efforts.

I am grateful to Dr. Benarsi Prasad Saxena, Dr. Bisheswar Prasad and Mr. Parananand for correcting the proofs of this book, as well as for suggestions and advice on many points.

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN.

ALLAHABAD,
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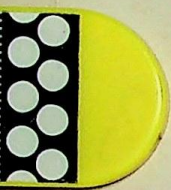

PART I

CHAPTER I

Pre-Aryan India

The sources for the study of the early history of India are various, and one of these is the study of inscriptions. They do not, however, go further back with certainty than the fourth century B.C. The inscriptions deal with a variety of subjects. Many record particular events, and we are thus enabled with their help to get our knowledge of the past. Again, old coins are of much assistance and give us information about the names of many kings if we study them carefully. Moreover, ancient buildings, monuments and works of art are very useful to the historians of this period. When, for example, the site of Taxila was discovered, students investigated it and gained a good knowledge of the Saka and Kushan chronology. Again, early literature yields valuable information. Among the books of ancient India the Vedas occupy a prominent position. We shall know more of the Vedic literature in the next chapter. Of other religious books mention may be made of the *Puranas*, which are eighteen in number. They deal with various subjects,—mythology, history, sacred law, etc. There are many law-books of which the *Laws of Manu* are of very great importance to the student and contain a large number of rules, laws, customs and rites which the Brahmana student was expected to learn by heart. There are other books secular or semi-religious in character. The most important of these are the Great Indian Epics. The *Mahabharata* narrates the struggle between rival tribes; the *Ramayana* records the exploits of King Rama

The Sources

of Oudh. Besides these, there are some books of a purely historical nature, for example the *Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir* by Kalhana.

Besides the writings of Indians, we have narratives of foreign writers. There are some Greek and Roman accounts of Indian history, geography and society. The Chinese travellers left important accounts of ancient India. Numerous Chinese pilgrims visited India between A.D. 400 and 700. The most famous of these pilgrims are Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang. A number of other writers have left interesting accounts of India. Alberuni, a learned mathematician and astronomer, who came to India early in the eleventh century, wrote his *Tarikh-i-Hind*, which contains most valuable information about the country. From a study of all such works, it is possible to gather information about ancient Indian history, which, only a comparatively short time ago, had remained dark to the historian.

Ancient tribes

In very old times India was the home of many different tribes, some of which had entered India from outside. Some of them were uncivilized, as their present representatives, the Kols and other forest and hill tribes of India show. But many of them were quite civilised. They knew writing and carried on commerce with distant lands. Many theories have been put forward as to the origin of the Dravidians, but it is difficult to say whence they came to India. Some historians hold that they were really aborigines, and were the primitive inhabitants of southern India; others hold that they entered India in large numbers, and settled down peacefully. It is probable that like many foreign invaders they entered India from the north-west. There is no doubt that they were at one time spread over most parts of Northern India, though now they are confined to the South.

About B.C. 2500 the Aryans, probably a tall, fair and robust people entered India from the north-west. They were a branch of a much bigger group, called the Indo-

Europeans, who spoke nearly the same language and resided in the plains of Russia or Central Asia. They were a pastoral people who reared cattle for their food and skins. For some reason or other, the Indo-Europeans spread in different directions, one branch going to Europe and another branch coming to Persia and India. These events are known to us from the fact that the ancient languages of Europe, Persia and India are remarkably similar.

The Aryans

Before the Aryan invasion of India, civilization had flourished on the banks of the Indus. Remains of this civilization have been found at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Panjab, Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district of Sind and many other places in the Panjab and Sind. The people who inhabited these places had acquired the habit of living in cities. Their cities had wide streets, sanitary lanes, a scientific system of drainage, with houses some of which were several storeys high and big paved tanks covered with bitumen. They did not know the use of iron but wore ornaments of gold, silver, bronze, etc. They seem to have been men of peaceful habits not much addicted to warfare, and maintained regular relations with the people of Mesopotamia and other places of the Near East. They worshipped images of gods and goddesses. Among the gods worshipped was one who is very similar to the later Hindu god Siva. Most probably the Hindus borrowed their god Siva from these people.

The Indus Civilization

Among the numerous objects recovered by excavation at these places are many seals made of various materials. To what use they were put it is difficult to say. There are figures of animals on them and some writings which have not yet been read and explained.

The civilization of the Indus people was spread over a large area, including the Panjab, Sind and Baluchistan, and it is quite possible that it extended farther eastward. There is reason to believe that this civilization flourished

about B.C. 3000, though it is probable that it had its beginnings much earlier. These discoveries show that our country was one of the cradles of civilization; and much of the later Indian culture can be traced back to this people.

CHAPTER II

The Aryan Society

The Vedas, which in Sanskrit means "knowledge," are the most sacred books of the Hindus. They are four in number, the *Rigveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. Each of these Vedas contains four parts, the Samhita, Brahmana, Aranyaka and Upanishad. The *Samhitas* contain hymns to various deities. The *Brahmanas* are intended to serve as orthodox explanations of the hymns of the Samhita. The *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* contain the philosophical knowledge that the Aryans developed.

The Vedic Literature

Some of the hymns of the *Rigveda* are the earliest compositions of the Aryans. They represent therefore the oldest record of Indo-Europeans. It must not be thought, however, that they were written down as they were composed. The whole Vedic literature was handed down orally from the teacher to the taught for centuries before they were committed to writing. The oldest portions of the Vedas go back to B.C. 2000, while the other portions were composed in subsequent centuries; but by B.C. 600 the whole of the Vedic literature was complete.

Date of the Vedas

The Vedas are of the utmost value to the student, as through them he can trace the progress of society in ancient India and they contain the germs of the later development of the Indian religion and society. We get a very good picture of ancient society, with details of the social life, customs and culture. The Aryan society was divided into tribes. The people pursued the habits common to pastoral tribes, but they were not nomads, as some have called them. Many hymns of the *Rigveda* show that barley and even wheat

The Vedic Aryans

were cultivated. When they settled down in the interior they became agricultural. Each tribe was a group of families and in each family the father was the master. The Raja of the tribe was the patriarch, who acted as judge, general and head of the clan. There were no towns in those days and they dwelt in villages. Their weapons were bows and arrows, but they also made use of spears and battle-axes. The Aryans were skilled in weaving, tanning, chariot-making and working in metals. Gold was not unknown. Their amusements included dancing, music, chariot-racing and dicing.

Political history

The hymns of the Vedas contain copious materials for political history and describe battles and other incidents. It is, however, difficult to mention the exact dates of the events described in the hymns. It seems clear that the inhabitants of a village used certain customs and rites for the management of the village, and group life gradually developed. The owners of houses generally met in assembly. There were two popular assemblies known as the *Sabha* and *Samiti*. For the sake of protection, villages were, later on, combined and the chieftain of a village sometimes wielded authority over ten, twenty or even a hundred villages. He was responsible for the security of each village, and each village was bound to supply him with its quota of fighting men, cattle or produce. Hence, the chieftain slowly acquired power, till, having increased his control, he assumed royal title and became a king. In this way several chieftains rose to prominence and founded kingdoms, such as the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha, Magadha, Kasi and Anga.

The penetration of the Aryans

The Aryans seem to have made their home to the east and west of the Indus. In the *Rigveda* we find them settled in the plains of the Panjab. They then made their way to the Gangetic plain, and occupied Hindustan proper. The *Yajurveda* mentions Kurukshetra, which lies on the western side of the Jumna. Soon, however, the Aryans

spread over the entire peninsula. They had to deal with non-Aryans in their progress, and sometimes they let them remain as they were, and at other times included them in their own society. The laws of Manu specifically mention the land of the Aryavarta, which comprised the part of India between the Himalayas and the Vindhya Range. The Aryans then invaded the Deccan and a few centuries later, spread some features of Aryan customs and institutions among the Dravidians. Then contact with the non-Aryans produced far-reaching changes. The mixture of two different types of culture ultimately ended in producing the Hindu culture of later times in which both Aryan and non-Aryan features are equally prominent.

Religious changes

The religious practices of the ancient Aryans were different from those of modern Hindus, yet at this time we can trace the influence on Aryans of the religion and customs of the non-Aryans. Some modes of worship and some deities which were not known to the early Aryans are in all probability due to non-Aryan elements. As society became complex and the chieftain found it impossible to perform all the functions of his office, a need was felt for a class that could devote itself to the performance of the ever-increasing religious customs. Consequently a new priestly caste arose, which assumed more and more importance as society progressed, until it developed into the caste of Brahmanas. The caste system, however, came much later. When the blessings and curses which various sacrifices were meant to effect, multiplied, the deities also became numerous. Hence, the Hindu pantheon was enriched by an ever increasing number of deities. By this means Hinduism was developed, and the erection of temples took the place of the nature worship of the early Aryans. The pantheon, that is to say, the gods viewed collectively, although different from that of Hinduism, contains germs of later Hindu developments. Even now the Vedic deities are not wholly without honour, and in southern India

the Nambudri Brahmanas of Malabar devote their lives in keeping up the Vedic ritual as they understand it.

The *Mahabharata* is a large collection of writings by different authors at various periods extending over many centuries. It describes the Great War between the Kauravas and Pandavas. The *Ramayana* records the advance of the Aryans beyond the Vindhya mountains. Their leader Rama, finding that his wife Sita had been abducted by the Raja of Ceylon, invaded Ceylon, stormed the enemy's capital, rescued Sita and came back to his native place Oudh. The *Mahabharata* is much more historical in outlook. In the war that it describes all the kings of northern India fought for one of the two parties. The war told heavily on the population of India.

Decline from simplicity

The Aryans could not retain their martial ardour for a long time. They probably inter-married with the non-Aryans. As kingdoms were established, wars naturally arose. This destroyed their union and produced division in their ranks. They could no longer retain their distinctive nationality. They were brought into contact with a number of foreign races, and many of the conquerors became Hindus, adopted Hindu manners and customs and probably married into Hindu families. Again, different classes may have contracted matrimonial alliances and a warrior sometimes married a Brahmana.

Occupations

Among the ancient Aryans there was no caste system. It is true that the word *Varna* occurs in the *Rigveda*, but it does not mean caste, but colour. It was the complexion that fixed the status of a person in those days. Among the Aryans, such distinctions based on occupation arose. As society grew, and specialization became necessary, it was found economical to make a man proficient in one thing, one act, or one science rather than to make him do work for which he was not fitted. A good fighter could not find time, and did not always have the inclination to learn the art of a priest, scholar or a

trader. If he could devote all his time to his favourite pursuit, he would be more useful to the society in which he lived. Hence, people devoted themselves to different professions, and mastered their art. Broadly speaking, these professions or classes were four: (1) the priestly order, or Brahmanas, (2) the ruling class, or Kshatriyas, (3) the trading and agricultural caste or Vaisyas and (4) the household servants and day labourers or Sudras who could not be admitted to the religious ceremonies of the Aryans. The Sudras were probably aborigines who had adopted Aryan customs and manners. These classes were really different from castes. One was based on occupation, the other was hereditary.

The class distinction was later on replaced by the caste system. A caste has been defined as a group of families internally united by peculiar rules for the observance of ceremonial purity, especially in matters of diet and marriage. Each caste has its own set of rites and is completely marked off from others. Admission to an established caste is obtained as a right of birth only and change of caste is not possible.

Again, whatever may have been the original condition, the members of a caste are not restricted to a particular occupation, as they may choose any profession that may suit them without affecting their caste position. The members of higher classes could not take to mean professions. Every member of a caste was expected to observe the rules of his caste. The causes of the rise of the system are various: (1) At first the Aryans enjoyed equality of status. Soon, however, inequalities began to appear among them. Brahmanas sometimes exchanged the sword for the pen, and Kshatriyas left the sceptre for the cloister. (2) The Brahmanas began to acquire a dominant influence in the Aryan family. (3) It is now believed by some scholars that the hereditary system of caste was known to some non-Aryan people and from them the Aryans borrowed it to suit their purpose.

The law-books of the Aryans lay down that the life of an orthodox Brahmana should be divided into four stages.

The Four Stages

(1) At the age of six the boy was to be sent to a teacher who would teach him the Vedas and other branches of learning. The student was in return to serve the teacher in every way. (2) After that the Brahmana was to return home, marry, and lead a pious home life. He was expected to give alms to students and ascetics and could himself maintain students. (3) In old age he was to retire to the forest, to perform meditation. (4) In extreme old age, he was to renounce the world, roam about like a hermit and take whatever came in his way without caring for the quality or quantity.

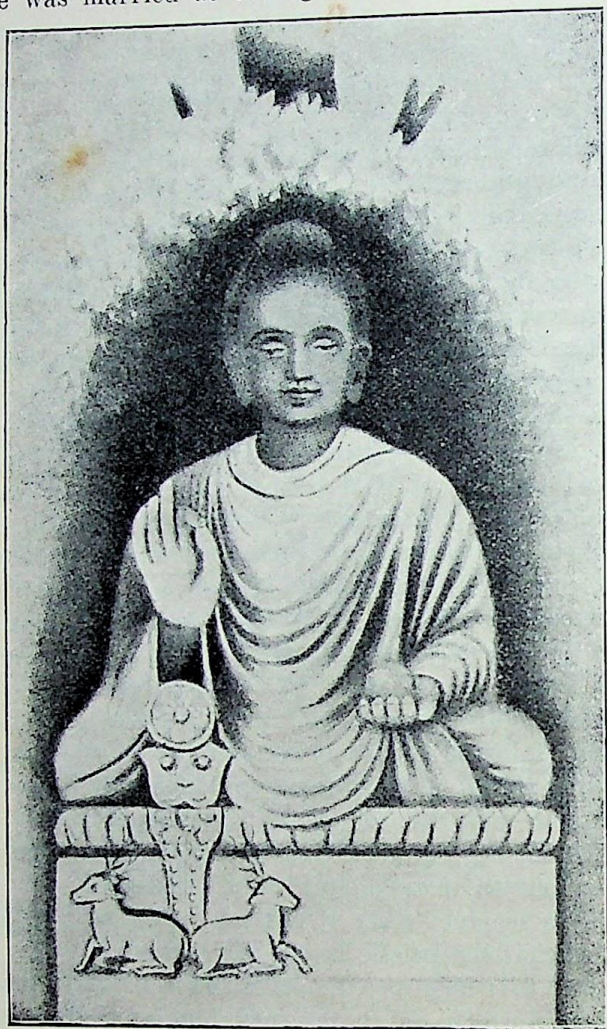
CHAPTER III

Buddhism and Jainism

About the seventh century B.C. a number of sects arose, which advocated novel opinions concerning God and the soul, and the best way of attaining salvation. The Brahmanas at that time seem to have followed a creed that was mechanical, lifeless and formal. Formal ceremonies took the place of earnest zeal, and sacrifices were frequent. There was a reaction against these practices, and people longed for a purer and simpler creed, which would satisfy their longings. Some went so far as to inflict on themselves horrible mutilations and tortures. Most of these sects died out in course of time. There were, however, two creeds which survived. These were Buddhism and Jainism. Both of them have influenced millions of people and both created a revolution in the religious life of India. Buddhism has died out of India, but at the present time, it is one of the greatest spiritual forces in the world, and is the main religion followed in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, China and Japan. Jainism claims a much smaller number of adherents, and is now confined to Rajputana and Western India.

Gautama Buddha

Gautama was the son of a noble, Suddhodana of the Sakya clan, the Raja of Kapilavastu in the Nepal *Terai*, a dependency of Kosala, and was a Kshatriya. Numerous legends cling round his name, so much so that the people began to regard him as a god to whom prayers were offered. The primitive Buddhism, which did not regard him as a god, came to be known as the Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle, while the modified religion which acknowledged Buddha as the Saviour of Mankind was called Mahayana, or the Greater Vehicle. Later on Buddhism became emotional and

resembled the Christian doctrines in essentials. The young prince was married at the age of nineteen, and his wife

THE BUDDHA
(*From a Gandhara Sculpture in the Indian Museum*)

bore him a son. But he was disgusted with luxury; he despised ease, and was in search of salvation for his soul.

He determined to make a great sacrifice, and resolved to effect the Great Renunciation. He abandoned his home, his child, his palace and ease, and went to the forest in quest of the Eternal, and spent there seven years. These years were years of severe trial. He subjected himself to penance; he prayed; he was alone in the dark and gloomy forest with no result. Yet he persevered. He was determined to find the way to salvation and he thought he had discovered the only way of escape from the misery of rebirth, and of attaining *Nirvana* or Eternal bliss. Buddha determined to spread his discovery, and he therefore gave up asceticism, left the forest, and started preaching the truth. He was joined by five disciples in the Deer Park at Sarnath near Benares. This was the origin of the Great Buddhist Sangha or Order. Gautama continued his preaching for forty-five years and died at the age of eighty at Kusinagara, near Rajmahal in Bihar, in about B.C. 483. Gautama was also called Sakyamuni, which means the sage of the Sakyas, and is generally known as the Buddha, because he claimed to have attained supreme knowledge of things spiritual (*bodhi*).

The teaching of Buddha

Buddha made the doctrine of *karma* his starting-point, and developed a theory of salvation which has exercised a strange fascination on the minds of countless millions. The doctrine of *karma* means that the merits and demerits of a being in past existences determine his condition in the present life. This doctrine was not invented by Buddha. It was known before and Buddha only accepted it as self-evident. He held that to be born is an evil, and the highest good consists in deliverance from rebirth. He thought that good *karma* would effect this. Good *karma* cannot be acquired by vicious persons, but only by those who had led a strictly moral life. A person who wishes to effect good *karma* must be pure in word, deed and thought. He must observe some commandments, which prohibited theft, adultery, murder, lying, back-

biting, obscenity, covetousness, hatred and ignorance. He urged his followers to follow the Noble Eight-fold Path of right belief, right thought, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right exertion, right remembrance and right meditation. Men could find complete satisfaction only by joining the *Sangha*, or order of ordained monks, while women could become nuns. The *Sangha* of monks was transformed into a highly organized, wealthy and powerful fraternity, which was chiefly instrumental in propagating Buddhism in different parts of Asia.

Popular Buddhism

Buddha probably did not intend to found a new religion. He did not interfere with the current beliefs in the Hindu gods. Buddhism later on spread to many parts of Asia. China and Tibet were converted; Mongolia was penetrated; Ceylon was profoundly influenced, while Burma, Siam, Japan and other countries followed the new religion with ardour. India, under Asoka, contained millions of Buddhists. Foreign pilgrims came to India, as the Holy Land of Buddhists, and several Chinese travellers visited this country between A.D. 400 and 700. There was, however, no Buddhist period, strictly so-called. Buddhism and Jainism achieved exceptional success at various periods, and claimed numerous adherents, but Brahmanical Hinduism was never really supplanted. Asoka did no doubt propagate the new religion with the zeal of a missionary, but even he insisted merely on uniformity in respect of conduct and other matters, in conformity with the orders of the government, and did not interfere with anybody's faith.

Vardhamana Mahavira

Jainism was another sect that was founded at this time. Mahavira was the son of a Lichchhavi noble of Vaisali. Like Buddha, he gave up his honourable rank and joined the ascetic order of Parsvanath. In that order he remained for several years. He was, however, dissatisfied with the rules

of the order, and wandered about the country in search of knowledge. He began as a religious reformer at the age of forty, and during the remaining period of his life, which lasted more than thirty years, he travelled as a preacher through South Bihar, Tirhut and Bhagalpur. He founded a religious order consisting of friars and nuns. He died at Pawa, leaving a band of 14,000 devoted followers. He seems to have gained favour with both Bimbisara and Ajatasatru of Magadha. His followers called themselves Jainas, or conquerors of self.

Jainism

Jains believe that man's personality consists of two natures—natural and spiritual. The Vedantist doctrine of a universal soul is rejected by them. Jains believe that besides men and animals, plants, air, wind and fire possess souls (*jiva*) endowed with various grades of consciousness. They think that pain may be inflicted even on a stone, on air and water. They deny the existence of God. Their fundamental principle is *ahimsa*, "not hurting any kind of life, however low it may be in the scale of creation." A true Jain will do nothing to hurt the feelings of another person, man, woman or child; nor will he violate the principles of Jainism. "Do your duty. Do it as humanely as you can," sums up the belief of the Jains. According to the Jains the constant practice of self-discipline and mortification will free the soul from the fetters of *karma*, and enable it to roam about in a land of eternal joy.

Effect of the new Sects on Hinduism

While Jainism and Buddhism later on crystallized into distinct religions, their effects on Hinduism were great. The *ahimsa* principle of non-injury to animal life gained many adherents, while sacrifices tended to fall into disrepute. Again, the reaction against the atheistical tendency both of Buddhism and Jainism might have helped in the development of *bhakti*, or vivid, lively and loving faith in a personal, fatherly God. Such devotion to the Deity under the name of Vasudeva may be traced back as far as

Panini's time. The *Bhagavadgita* is the noblest and the purest expression of the new faith. The *Bhakti* movement arose in the neighbourhood of Muttra and Delhi, and Vasudeva Krishna became identified with Vishnu.

Side by side, we also find that there were some people who devoted themselves to the worship of Siva. We have already seen that the worship of some god like Siva was current among the people of the Indus Civilization. It is therefore a very ancient faith.

CHAPTER IV

Political History of Ancient India

The civilization of India is continuous, and no country in the world except China can boast of a culture so unbroken as that of India. But it is impossible to assign even approximate dates before the seventh century. The first definite date is 326 B.C. the year of Alexander's invasion. By calculating from that date, and using historical traditions recorded in literature, we can obtain a glimpse of the political history of ancient India. The information thus obtained is fragmentary, incomplete and vague. The religious literature of the period is our chief guide, though the traditional accounts are seriously affected by sectarian prejudices and religious differences.

Indian Civilization

In the sixth century B.C. Magadha, or South Bihar occupied a prominent position. It had been closely connected with the growth of Jainism and Buddhism. King Bimbisara (543–491 B.C.) is said to have conquered Anga, the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts. He is justly regarded as the founder of the greatness of the Magadha kingdom. He probably followed the tenets of the Jains. About 491 B.C. he abdicated in favour of his son, Ajatsatru, who is said to have killed his father shortly afterwards.

India in the 7th century

Ajatsatru built the fortress of Pataliputra at the confluence of the Ganges and the Son, which developed into the imperial city of Pataliputra. His mother was a lady of the great Lichchhavi tribe, or a princess of Kosala (Oudh). Ajatsatru waged successful wars against the Lichchhavis as well as Kosala.

Ajatsatru

It is said that he brought under his influence the whole country between the Ganges and the Himalayas.

In about B.C. 411 the Magadhan throne was occupied by Sisunaga, who and whose successors reigned for about seventy years. The last King of the dynasty was dethroned about the year 345 B.C. by Mahapadma Nanda, who usurped the throne, and founded the Nanda dynasty. The accounts of the Nandas are so conflicting that no reliance can be placed on the material at our disposal. It is, however, certain that the last member of the dynasty was slain by Chandragupta.

The Nanda Dynasty

PROVISIONAL DATES OF THE SAISUNAGA AND NANDA DYNASTIES

Kings	Probable date of accession.	Remarks
	B.C.	
Bimbisara ..	543	Built New Rajagriha; conquered Anga; contemporary with Mahavira and Buddha; reputed to be a Jain.
Ajatasatru ..	491	Built Pataliputra; conquered Vaisali and Kosala.
Nandi-Vardhana ..	360	Last king of the Saisunaga dynasty; overthrown by Mahapadma Nanda.
Mahapadma Nanda and his eight sons.	345	First king of the Nanda dynasty; destroyed the Kshatriyas and was universal monarch of India. The nine Nandas represented two generations in all.

Death of Buddha .. *c* B.C. 483.
Death of Mahavira .. 527 B.C. or 470 B.C.
Accession of Chandragupta Maurya .. 322 (325?) B.C.

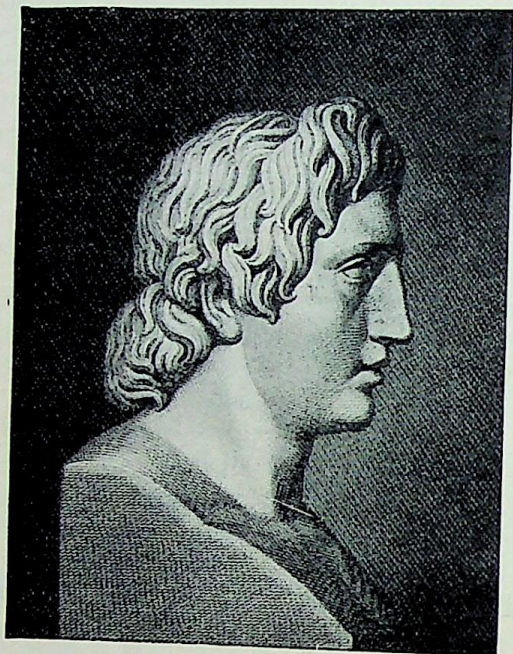
CHAPTER V

Foreign Invasions

The Persians invaded India in, or about, 516 B.C. The Persians belonged to the same race as the Aryans, as they formed a part of the great Aryan community. Some of the tribes had invaded India and settled down in this country, while others had gone westwards and established a powerful kingdom in Persia. The Persians soon developed a high type of civilization, and produced very able and powerful rulers. Their best known king was Cyrus, who ruled from about 558 B.C. to 530 B.C. He possessed great capacity for administration, and was the most powerful monarch of his age. Another ruler of Persia, Darius, son of Hystaspes, sent an expedition to find out if a sea passage from the mouth of the Indus to Persia was possible. His commander Skylax equipped a fleet on the upper waters of the Panjab rivers, and made his way down to the sea. Darius annexed the Indus valley and sent his fleet into the Indian Ocean. His successor (486 B.C. to 465 B.C.) maintained his dominion in India. The province was formed into a Persian satrapy, and was considered to be

DARIUS, THE SON OF HYSTASPES
(*From a Persian Sculpture*)

the richest and the most popular province in the Persian Empire. It contributed nearly one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Persian provinces. There is no evidence to show that the kingdom of Magadha was brought into close contact with the Persian Empire, although some sort of communication must have existed. At the time of Alexander's invasion, the Indus was the recognized boundary between the Persian Empire and India.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Invasion of India by Alexander the Great

Alexander was the son of Philip of Macedon in Greece, and was born in 356 B.C. He was one of the greatest kings of his age, and, while only a mere youth, had shown promise of greatness. After becoming king of Macedonia, and pacifying his Greek subjects he led an expedition into Egypt, Syria and Persia, which was very

successful, and ended in the death of Darius, the ruler of that country. When in Persia, he was brought into contact with India, and in 326 B.C. he went through the Kabul river valley and crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats. Thence he marched towards Taxila or Takshasila, which was a great and flourishing city at that time, and was the capital of Ambhi, who ruled the region between the Jhelum and the Indus. At that time, the Panjab was split up into a number of small states, which had not hitherto been made into a powerful kingdom. Taxila was the centre of Hindu learning and culture, and thousands of students were instructed in the Vedic lore and Shastras.

Alexander advanced to attack Porus, the king of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab, who felt himself strong enough to offer battle. The Greeks acknowledged that in the art of war the Indians were far superior to the other nations of Asia. The passage of the Jhelum was difficult, as it was in full flood, and was guarded by superior force. The Greek horses were frightened by the elephants of which there were about two thousand in all. Porus had about 30,000 infantry behind the elephants, while the Indian centre was protected by 150 war-chariots, and 20,000 Indian cavalry. Porus thought that Alexander would attack the Indian centre, and for this purpose he had kept his elephants ready, but Alexander ordered his cavalry to wheel round the Indian army, and launch an attack on the rear of the extreme left wing and by these tactics he completely disorganized the line of battle. When the right wing of the Indian army went to the assistance of the left wing, the centre was exposed to the attack of the Greeks, and the latter hurled their darts and arrows at the elephants. The animals got completely out of control, trampled under foot all who came in their way, and fled for safety. The Indian army was totally defeated. About 9,000 were taken prisoners, while 12,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry

were killed. Porus fought to the last, and received nine wounds before he was taken prisoner. Alexander treated him generously and entrusted him with the government of his dominions. Despite the rainy season, Alexander advanced eastwards, and defeated various Indian tribes. He went as far as the Beas, where his soldiers prevented him from going into unknown lands occupied by powerful kingdoms. Alexander erected twelve huge altars to mark his advance and then retreated.

On the return journey he sailed down the Indus. A fleet consisting of 2,000 vessels of all sizes had been built by his officers on the Jhelum. The voyage began in October 326 B.C., and the ships were escorted by a huge army marching along the banks. He sent his general with the elephants and troops into Persia through Baluchistan. Alexander finally reached Patala whence the army marched into Gedrosia, while the fleet sailed along the Persian Gulf, and reached the Euphrates safely.

The effect of the invasion

The invasion brought India into contact with the civilized world. The formation of a Greek kingdom in western Asia led to a closer contact between India and Europe; and the establishment of a Graeco-Persian monarchy in the middle of the third century B.C. led to the subjugation of certain Indian districts by the Greek kings. Again, Indian art was influenced by the Greeks, as the Gandhara sculptures show, and the Buddhists were also influenced by the ideas of the Greeks. All this was due mainly to Alexander's invasion of India.

(A) FOREIGN INVASIONS

Dates		Events
B.C.		
558–530	..	Cyrus, King of the Persians.
530–521	..	Cambyses.
521–486	..	Darius, son of Hystaspes.
516	..	The expedition of Skylax of Karyanda down the river Indus.
479	..	Indian archers fought in the army of Xerxes, the son of Darius at Plataea.
486–465	..	Xerxes.
330	..	Overthrow of the Achaemenian sway (Persian rule) in Asia Minor by Alexander the Great.

(B) ALEXANDER'S INVASION.

Dates			Events.
	B.C.		
	334	..	Started on campaign against Persia.
	333	..	Battle of Issus.
	332	..	Conquest of Egypt.
	330	..	Alexander in Persia; death of Darius.
	328–327	..	Alexander in Bactria.
	327	..	Crossing the Hindukush range.
	327	..	Campaign in the Kunar, the Panjkora and the Swat valleys.
Feb.	326	..	Crossing of the Indus.
July	326	..	Battle of Hydaspes.
Sept.	326	..	Arrival at Hyphasis; strike of the army; erection of altars; the return march.
Nov.	326	..	Voyage down the rivers.
Jan.	325	..	Defeat of the Malavas; submission of the Kshudrakas.
Oct.	325	..	Departure of Alexander to march through Gedrosia (Baluchistan).
Nov.	325	..	Nearchus starts on voyage to the Persian Gulf.
Feb.	325	..	March of Alexander through the desert of Karmania.
Apr.	325	..	Arrival of Alexander at Susa.
June	323	..	Death of Alexander at Babylon.

CHAPTER VI

The Maurya Dynasty

(322–184 B.C.)

Chandragupta (322-297 B.C.)

According to Indian tradition Chandragupta was a relative of the Nanda rulers of Magadha. But it is more probable that he was a member of the Maurya clan which inhabited the foot of the Himalayas. He went to the Panjab where he met Alexander. When the Greeks left the Panjab, he gathered an army and occupied the province. Next he turned his attention to Magadha. Acting under the advice of his minister Chanakya he easily defeated the last Nanda king and became the king of Magadha. He greatly increased his power. The army of the Magadha empire was very powerful and consisted of 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and six lakhs of infantry. This gave him a great advantage over his opponents. With the help of these troops Chandragupta now began to conquer various territories which had hitherto remained outside the influence of Magadha. He had to offer battle to numerous enemies, and of all of them Seleukos, one of Alexander's generals, was the most powerful. Seleukos, was desirous of imitating his master, and invading the valley of the Ganges. He was met by Chandragupta and obliged to sign a humiliating peace. The terms of the peace involved the cession to Chandragupta of the kingdoms of Kabul, Herat, Kandahar and Baluchistan; in exchange for these territories, Chandragupta presented only 500 elephants to Seleukos who wanted them in his wars against his opponents. Finally, a marriage relation was established between Seleukos and Chandragupta.

Megasthenes

In 302 B.C. Seleukos, who had strictly observed the treaty, sent an envoy named Megasthenes to Chandragupta's court. This envoy left a most interesting account of the geography and institutions of India, but only fragments of the book have survived. Megasthenes' account is accurate and reliable on matters which came under his personal observation,

INDIA
Under the Early Mauryas

The empire of Chandragupta included the whole of northern India as far as Bengal in the east. In the west it spread much beyond the limits of India and included Afghanistan and Baluchistan. There is some evidence for believing that the empire also included a large portion of the South.

Chandra-gupta's Empire

Justin, a historian of Rome, says that though Chandragupta was the author of Indian independence after Alexander's death, when he had gained the victory and ascended the throne, he transformed nominal liberty into slavery, and oppressed the people whom he had released from foreign rule. His punishments were very severe. He was helped in his activities by his Brahmana minister Chanakya or Kautilya, who is reputed to be the author of the *Arthasastra.* The *Arthasastra* gives instructions about the good and efficient government of the country. Most of the arrangements which Chandragupta effected remained unchanged in the reigns of Bindusara and Asoka. The state was organized into departments and was administered by capable officers whose duties were minutely defined. The Government maintained a huge standing army. The affairs of the army were looked after by thirty officers, divided into six boards of five members each.

Adminis-tration of Chandra-gupta

Pataliputra, the capital of Chandragupta, was a rich city extending for nine miles along the northern banks of the Son. Megasthenes describes the capital as being more than twenty miles in circumference, with a moat all round it. The walls had 570 towers and 64 gates. The municipal government rested with thirty officers, divided into six boards. These boards looked after industrial arts, manufacturers, the care of foreigners, permanent census, collection of taxes on articles sold and the regulation of trade and commerce. Irrigation was undertaken on a large scale, and as a result of this, agriculture flourished. The farmers paid one fourth of the produce of their fields in the form of land revenue. Roads were

kept in good order, and new roads were built. By these means Chandragupta's government gave security and prosperity to the land.

He cannot be called a tyrant, as he did not punish wantonly. At that time it was very difficult to maintain authority over a vast empire, and Chandragupta was obliged to resort to severity in order that he might keep the country in peace and order. It is stated that he never slept during the day and even at night he did not always enjoy undisturbed rest. He rarely slept for two successive nights in the same bed for fear of murder.

The Imperial palace was built of timber, the luxury of the royal court was great and the display of gold, silver and jewels was very common. It is said that Chandraguptas's palace excelled in splendour the palaces of Susa and Ekbatana in Persia.

The only check upon the royal authority was the fear of revolution and assassination. It was for this reason that Chandragupta led an uneasy life, and was obliged to take precautions against conspiracies.

Bindusara (297-373 B.C.)

Not much is known about the reign of Chandragupta's son Bindusara. He was a peaceful king. He sent embassies to the Greek kings of the Near East. There was a revolt in Taxila in the latter part of his reign, which was suppressed by his son Asoka.

Asoka (273-232 B.C.)

Asoka had already served as viceroy first at Taxila and then at Ujjain. He probably had to fight for the throne, judging from the fact that his coronation was delayed for four years until B.C. 269. During the first nine years of his reign Asoka was busy administering and consolidating the vast empire. In 261 B.C. he invaded the kingdom of Kalinga situated between the Mahanadi and the Godavari along the eastern coast line, and after a successful campaign he annexed it. The Kalinga war was the turning point in Asoka's career. The miseries of the campaign and the sufferings of the

prisoners left a deep impression on the mind of the conqueror. Asoka was haunted with remorse for the calamities which had been caused by his ambition, and he now decided to change his ways. In one of his inscriptions he says: "Thus arose his sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered Kalinga, because the conquest of the country previously unconquered involved the slaughter, death and carrying away captives of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to his sacred Majesty. His sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind and joyousness."

The extent of Asoka's empire is known from the details of the distribution of his monuments and from his inscriptions. The empire comprised Afghanistan as far as the Hindukush, Baluchistan, Makran, Sind, Cutch, the Swat Valley, Kashmir, Nepal and the whole of India proper, excepting Assam, as far south as the northern districts of Mysore. The empire contained several self-governing states owing more or less obedience or paying homage to the emperor. It also included a number of savage and semi-savage tribes in hills and forests.

There were four viceroys who were princes of the Imperial family. The viceroy of the north-west controlled the Panjab and also exercised jurisdiction in Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Another viceroy probably resided in Kalinga. The western provinces were ruled from Ujjain, while the capital of the Deccan was Suvarnagiri, situated somewhere in the South.

Asoka carried on the system which he had inherited from his grandfather. He introduced various improvements in it. The ministers were called Mahamatras as in the time of Chandragupta and a regular official gradation existed. The emperor created a new class of ministers in the twelfth year of his reign. They were called Dharma-Mahamatras. They were required to enforce the Law of Duty or Piety among the peoples of all religions and ranks

including even members of the royal family. The duty of the censors was to see that the Imperial commands were obeyed.

What Asoka did for the people

Asoka regularly looked after irrigation. He also planted shady trees and dug wells at regular intervals by the sides of the high roads. He imported rare medical plants from distant lands and grew them in India for use in the hospitals which he established for the treatment of men and beasts. He encouraged the people to lead a moral and pious life and ordered his officials to remove the obstacles that might exist in the life of the people. He made many tours in his empire and freely distributed gold to the poor and the aged. The viceroys of the empire were instructed to make similar tours for the same purpose.

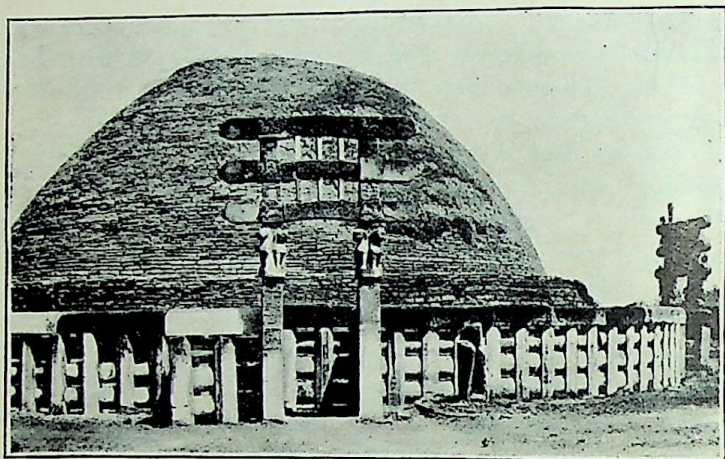
Asoka worked very hard, acting on the advice of Kautilya, who had said: "If a king is energetic, his subjects will be energetic." Asoka carried out the Asiatic idea of kingship which required that the monarch should hear personally as many causes and complaints as possible. Asoka stated in one of his inscriptions: "Now by me arrangement has been made that at all hours, in all places—whether I am dining, or in the ladies' apartments, or in my private room, or in the mews or in my conveyance, or in the palace gardens—the official reporters must report to me on the peoples' business and I am ready to do the peoples' business in all places.." Asoka carried out this policy with a piety and devotion which win our love for him.

Asoka as a Buddhist

Asoka became a Buddhist probably shortly after the Kalinga war. In Buddhist books there are many legends about him and his devotion to the Buddhist creed. He visited many places sacred to Buddhism. He convoked a Buddhist Council at Pataliputra and issued an order that any monk who tried to create a breach in the Buddhist church would be driven away from the

monastery. But he was an extremely tolerant king and showed the same respect for every other sect.

Asoka's Greatness

Asoka was truly great and was different from all other rulers in that after ruling successfully for a number of years and defeating his enemies in battle he became a royal monk. This was really the result of his Kalinga campaign. After that the king resolved to carry into effect the laws of piety and morality. He resolved to dedicate his life to the realization and preaching of the moral law. This was not

GREAT STUPA, SANCHI

the impulse of a moment, but it became a part and parcel of his personality. Asoka abstained from offensive warfare. He gave up hunting and greatly restricted the eating of meat early in his reign. He then determined to propagate his laws of piety. The laws express noble sentiments of morality in clear, simple and strong language. Asoka taught obedience and respect to parents, kind treatment to servants, liberality to Brahmanas and monks, contentment with a small amount of wealth and frugal living. Cruelty, anger, pride, malice and other sins were

condemned. He appointed a class of officers named Dharmamahamatras, whose duty it was, both in India and elsewhere to look after the comfort of the people, and the welfare of the aged and infirm. They also had to distribute money to the needy.

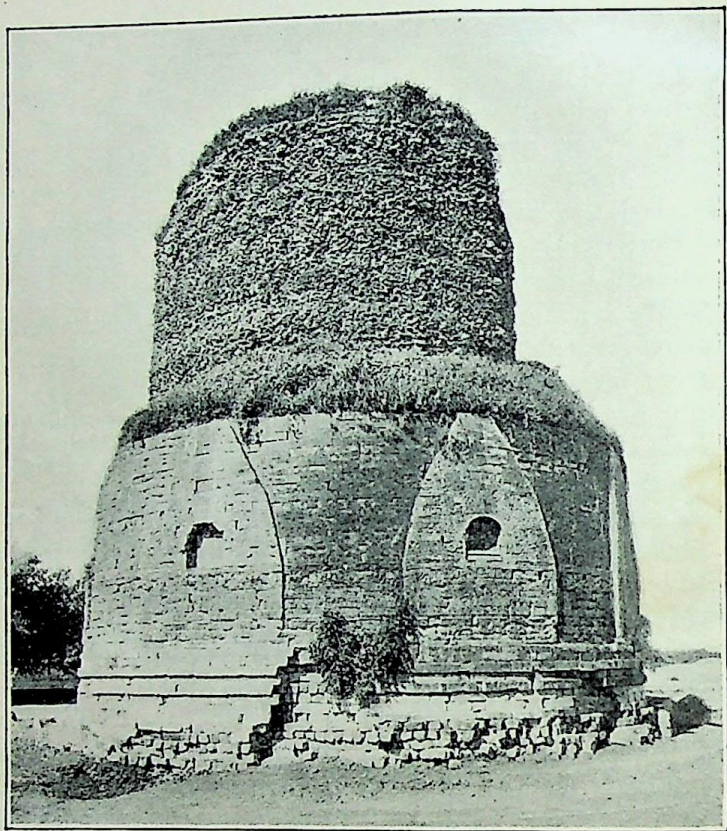
Asoka by his noble example, his enthusiasm and absolute sincerity won over a large number of adherents to the Buddhist cause. The missions of Asoka were, as a writer puts it, the greatest civilizing influence in the world. They penetrated to very distant lands, such as Greece, Egypt, Syria, Ceylon and Burma and the officers preached the laws of piety of the Indian monarch. The Ceylonese king gladly accepted Buddhism and Ceylon has remained Buddhist since then.

Result of Asoka's teaching

Asoka's noble example, lofty morality and remarkable vigour brought about the spread of Buddhism in many parts of Asia. In India also Buddhism claimed a very large following, though Brahmanical Hinduism did not disappear. Asoka maintained peace; and he dedicated his life to the happiness of his subjects.

Asoka's inscriptions

Asoka inscribed his message to the people on rocks, detached pieces of stone, and pillars so that his teaching could be known and read by all. The rock inscriptions are earlier in date and occur mostly in the more distant parts of his kingdom. The pillars are found in the home provinces. The inscriptions deal with many practical questions. Some promulgate the Law of Piety; others lay down the principles of government; others inculcate religious instructions. The inscriptions were apparently meant for the subjects in order that they might read them and profit by them. They are written in the vernacular dialect and were generally placed in place of importance on highways. Of the thirty pillars of Asoka of which we have a record, ten are inscribed and can still be seen. The edicts are important and interesting documents of the period and

give ample evidence of the zeal, piety, wisdom and efficiency of Asoka's government.

ANCIENT BUDDHIST TOWER, SARNATH

On the tops of the pillars were usually placed some figures of animals. The carving of these figures is so excellent that it excites the admiration of all,

The Decline of the Mauryas

We do not know how Asoka passed away from the scene of his labours. He seems to have been succeeded by his two grandsons, and his empire divided between them. The Maurya empire, however, soon broke up after his death, and forty-eight years later it disappeared altogether. Asoka's successors possessed neither energy nor ability and were

A COIN OF MENANDER

men of inferior calibre. Brihadratha, the last prince of the dynasty, was slain about 185 B.C. by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Sunga.

THE MAURYA DYNASTY (322–185 B.C.)

Approximate Dates	Indian events.	Foreign events.
B.C. 326 ..	Chandragupta in his youth met Alexander.	
323 ..		Death of Alexander at Babylon.
323–2 ..	Expulsion of Macedonian garrisons from the Panjab.	
322 ..	Accession of Chandragupta Maurya.	
312 ..		Seleukos Nikator recovered possession of Babylon from his rival.
306 ..		Seleukos assumed the title of king and proclaimed himself ruler of western and central Asia.
305–302	Seleukos invaded India unsuccessfully. Treaty with Chandragupta. Megasthenes sent to the court of Chandragupta.	
298 ..	Accession of Bindusara Amitraghata.	
272 ..	Accession of Asoka.	
269 ..	Coronation of Asoka.	
261 ..	Conquest of Kalinga.	
257–6 ..	Publication of 14 rock edicts. Appointment of Dharmamahamatras.	
251 ..	Mission to Ceylon.	
249 ..	Asoka's pilgrimage to holy places.	
248 ..		Revolt of Bactria and Parthia against the King of Syria.
242 ..	Publication of the seven pillar edicts.	
240 ..	Council at Pataliputra. Publication of minor pillar edicts.	
232 ..	Death of Asoka.	
208 ..	The Greeks invade the Panjab.	

CHAPTER VII

Foreign Dynasties

The break-up of the Maurya Empire

Shortly after Asoka's death the Maurya Empire broke up. India was split up into a number of states, but there was no power whose history could be identified with the history of India.

The Sunga Dynasty 184-72 B.C.

The usurper Pushyamitra, the Brahmana commander-in-chief, who killed the last of the Mauryas, founded the Sunga dynasty, which lasted for 112 years. Their dominions probably included Magadha and a few neighbouring provinces and extended to the Narmada. During his reign Menander, the Greek king of the North-west invaded India about 155 B.C. He annexed the Indus delta, occupied Muttra, invested Madhyamika near Chitore in Rajputana and Saketa in Oudh. But he was repelled and India was freed from the menace of foreign invasion.

Pushyamitra was a Brahmana and it is said that he was an enemy of Buddhism. He performed some horse-sacrifices, one of which was presided over by the famous grammarian Patanjali.

The fall of the Sungas

The successors of Pushyamitra soon degenerated. Devabhuti, the last of the Sungas was a man of licentious habits and lost his life while engaged in a shameless intrigue. Vasudeva, his Brahmana minister, seated himself on the throne and founded the Kanva dynasty which lasted only forty-five years.

In the Deccan the Brahmana Satavahana dynasty ruled for about four centuries (B.C. 200 to A.D. 225), and during that time there were thirty kings. The dynasty is also called the Andhra, which is not quite correct. It became

strong and its dominions stretched right aross the Deccan from sea to sea. The most powerful king of the dynasty was Gautamiputra Satakarni (120 A.D.) who defeated the foreign invaders of Central India and made himself very powerful. The dynasty became extinct about 225 A.D.

The Satavahanas

About the middle of the third century B.C. Bactria and Parthia, two very important provinces of the empire of Seleukos, raised the banner of revolt and set up independent kingdoms. The Parthians lived in the territory lying to the south-east of the Caspian Sea, while the Bactrians inhabited the near region between the Hindukush and the Oxus. During Asoka's rule, the newly-formed kingdoms did not venture to invade the Maurya Empire. Demetrios, the fourth king of Bactria, subdued Afghanistan and annexed considerable territories in the Panjab. Menander was another strong and capable ruler, who invaded India and reigned about 120 B.C. He achieved great fame and embraced Buddhism. There were many other Greek princes in the Panjab some of whom reigned till the first century A.D.

Bactria and Parthia

Mithradates I of Parthia (171–136 B.C.) annexed the country between the Indus and the Jhelum, about 138 B.C. The influence of the Persian kingdom led to the adoption of the Persian title of satrap by many Indian rulers.

Parthia and India

Gondophernes was the last Parthian ruler of Taxila and his reign is memorable for the mission of the Christian St. Thomas to India. It is said that the great apostle was imprisoned for some time by Gondophernes and was ultimately martyred near Mylapore in the South.

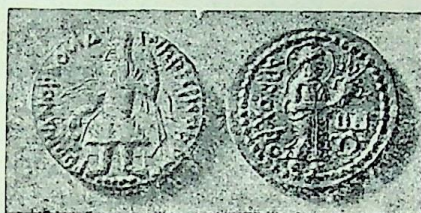
Gondophernes and St. Thomas

The Kushans were driven out of Western China about 165 B.C. and migrated to the north of the Gobi desert. They defeated another horde called Sakas, who, when they were overcome by the new-comers, were obliged to give up to them their pasture ground. After some time the

Yueh-chi acquired peaceful habits and the Kushan section of the tribe obtained mastery over the other sections. Their first rulers were Kadphises I (about 40 A.D.) and Kadphises II (about 78 A.D.), the latter of whom was the real founder of the Kushan power in India.

The Yueh-chi or Kushans

Kanishka (A.D. 130) was the third ruler of the Kushan dynasty. Peshawar was the capital of his dominions. His empire extended as far as Persia towards the west, while its northern frontier touched the plateau of Pamir; in the east the boundary of the empire extended at least as far as Benares and

Kanishka (A.D. 130)

A COIN OF KANISHKA

in the south to Central India. His date is a matter of great controversy and ranges from 78 to 150 A.D.

Kanishka became an active patron of the Buddhist church. By this time a great change had come over Buddhism, though it was not due to Kanishka or any other king. The simple creed of Buddha could no longer attract the people. It had become rigid and unemotional. As it spread over different parts of India, it bcame divided into numerous sects each with some difference in doctrine.

Buddhism

But a very important change came over Buddhism in the first century A.D. A new creed was developed. The Mahayana, as the new creed was called, believed in worship and devotion, and was therefore much more emotional and

attractive than the Hinayana, as the older creed came to be called.

Kanishka's reign was made famous by its association with the names of eminent Buddhist writers such as Nagarjuna, Asvaghosha and Vasumitra. Architecture was liberally patronised and Kanishka was a mighty builder. In the north-west there were made many images of Buddha and Buddhist gods, which show Greek influence. At Mathura there flourished another school of art, but images produced here were not as beautiful as the north-western ones.

Literature and Art

Though no reliable information exists regarding the manner in which the Kushan empire came to an end, there is no doubt that Vasudeva was the last monarch of the dynasty. The rise of the Sassanian empire in Persia and of native dynasties in the heart of India may be the reasons for the decay of the Kushan empire.

The end of the Kushan empire

The Sakas penetrated into Central India in the latter part of the first century A.D. Nahapana, an important Saka ruler, held a large portion of central and western India as governor of the Kushans (A.D. 120). About A.D. 125, however, he was defeated by Gautamiputra Satakarni, the Satavahana king. Soon afterwards another foreign dynasty rose in Central India, probably with its capital at Ujjain. The most important king was Rudradaman (A.D. 150) who was an accomplished king, and was a great patron of literature.

Foreign Rule in Central India

The foreign rule of Central India continued till about A.D. 400.

FOREIGN DYNASTIES

Approximate Dates (accession)	——	Kushans	N.W. Indian Frontier, the Panjab and Kabul	Kshatrapa-Satraps of Maharashtra.	Saka Satraps of Ujjain
B.C. 200	Beginning of Andhra dynasty.				
185	Pushyamitra Sunga's accession.				
206			Syrian raid on Kabul.		
190			Demetrios, King of the Indians (4th King of Bactria).		
190–180			Pantaleon, Agathokles, Kings of Taxila.		
180–160			Menander, King of Kabul and the Panjab.		
171–136			Mithradates, King of Parthia.		
130			End of Greek rule in Bactria.		
138			Annexation of the Kingdom of Taxila by Mithradates.		
130 B.C. to A.D. 20			Indo-Greek Kings in the Panjab.		

FOREIGN DYNASTIES—(*continued*)

Approximate Dates (accession)	———	Kushans	N.W. Indian Frontier, the Panjab and Kabul.	Kshatrapa-Satraps of Maharashtra.	Saka Satraps of Ujjain
B.C. 95			INDO-PARTHIAN KINGS (*a*) Maues, ruler of Taxila, Kabul and Kandahar.		
58			(*b*) Azes I. in the same regions.		
73	Extinction of the Sunga dynasty.				
73–28	Kanva dynasty				
1–10 A.D. or B.C.				Bhumaka	
A.D. 20			Gondophernes		
40–78		Kadphises I			
40				Nahapana	
78–110		Kadphises II. conquered as far as Benares.			
120		Kanishka's accession.			

FOREIGN DYNASTIES—(*continued*)

Approximate Dates (accession)	——	Kushans	N.W. Indian Frontier, the Panjab and Kabul.	Kshatrapa-Satraps of Maharashtra.	Saka Satraps of Ujjain
80					Chashtana (Tiastenes of Ptolemy)
A.D. 80				Death of Nahapana.	
125	Gautamiputra Satakarni overthrew the Satraps of Maharashtra.				
128–150					Rudradaman, dates so far known.
170	Yajna Sri Satakarni, Andhra King.				
225	End of Andhra dynasty.				
390					Extinction of the Satraps of Ujjain.

CHAPTER VIII

The Growth of the Gupta Empire

It is not quite clear how the collapse of the Kushan empire took place. We possess very few inscriptions or other memorials of the time. A number of independent states were formed after the break-up of the Kushan empire. Now we come again to the work of the famous tribe the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. The clan possessed Pataliputra, and ruled there probably as vassals of the Kushans. Early in the fourth century a Lichchhavi princess married Chandragupta, the Raja of Magadha. Chandragupta's power was greatly increased by this alliance, and he extended his sway over Oudh, Magadha, and along the Ganges as far as Prayag or Allahabad. Chandragupta established a new era, the Gupta era, in A.D. 319, which lasted for several centuries in various parts of India. He died after a short reign of six years.

Samudragupta who ruled for forty years (A.D. 335–375) was one of the ablest rulers of India. He determined

Samudra-gupta

to extend the boundaries of his empire, and was successful in this aim. At the end of his reign, his empire included the whole of the Ganges plain from the Brahmaputra to the Chambal, and from the mountains of Nepal to the Narmada. He brought the wild forest tribes under control, and led his famous expedition to the Deccan, advancing as far as Conjeevaram near Madras. This was a remarkable feat in those days. He must have spent two or three years over this expedition. Tribute and homage were paid to him by the rulers of five frontier kingdoms. He cultivated friendly relations with foreign powers, and the Ceylonese king sent an embassy to him and asked him to erect a splendid

monastery for the use of pilgrims. Samudragupta was endowed with rare gifts. He was a skilled musician, and his gold coins and medals depict him seated on a couch, playing the Indian lute. He was also a good poet. The exact date of Samudragupta's death is not known, but he certainly lived to an advanced age. In the famous Allahabad inscription, Samudragupta is represented as having acquired the title of the prince of poets by writing works which were regarded as models for learned men. He gathered round him a large band of brilliant men.

Chandragupta Vikramaditya

Chandragupta Vikramaditya succeeded his father in A.D. 375. He was a great conqueror, and was successful in extending his empire both in the east and the west. The Malavas and other tribes which had remained outside the dominions of Samudragupta were brought under subjection. He extended the empire by conquering the foreign rulers of Malwa, Gujrat and Kathiawar, and by gaining the sea-coast he offered numerous opportunities to his subjects for commercial expansion. An inscription on the Iron Pillar of Delhi informs us that a king Chandra "wrested and destroyed the enemies confederate against him." The same inscription informs us that Chandra crossed the seven mouths of the Indus, and vanquished the Valhika nation. This probably refers to the exploits of Chandragupta II.

The character of Chandragupta

Chandragupta occupied the throne for nearly forty years. He was strong and vigorous, and was eminently qualified to govern the vast empire. During his reign, India was blessed with peace and prosperity, and the popular tradition is that no Indian ruler governed better than Vikramaditya. He built charitable institutions, and rest houses, while his capital, Pataliputra, contained a free hospital where the poor patients were treated free of charge, and supplied with food and medicine. The administration of justice was very

efficient. The land was free from brigandage. At this time Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India for the purpose of obtaining authentic texts of Buddhist books on monastic discipline. He has written a very accurate account of India. He states that the towns of Magadha were large, the people rich and prosperous. Pataliputra was a flourishing city; and contained two famous monasteries where six or seven hundred monks resided, whose learning was so famous that it drew students from all parts of India. He says that offences were punished ordinarily by fine only, the capital penalty not being inflicted.

Fa-Hien says, "Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onions or garlic. They did not keep pigs or fowls. There are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places." The government of the Guptas was efficient. We learn that the government let the people live their lives without needless interference, was temperate in the repression of crime, and tolerant in matters of religion.

After Vikramaditya's death, the most important Gupta rulers were Kumaragupta I. (413–455) and Skandagupta (455–470). Kumaragupta celebrated the horse sacrifice. He maintained his paternal territories intact.

The last two Great Gupta Emperors

Soon after the accession of Skandagupta, the Huns made fierce inroads which were repulsed at first, but fresh wars with the invaders continued to arise and the Gupta empire was broken up. The dynasty was not destroyed. Skandagupta died in the year 470. His successors were too weak to check the progress of the savage tribes, and the Gupta empire soon fell to pieces.

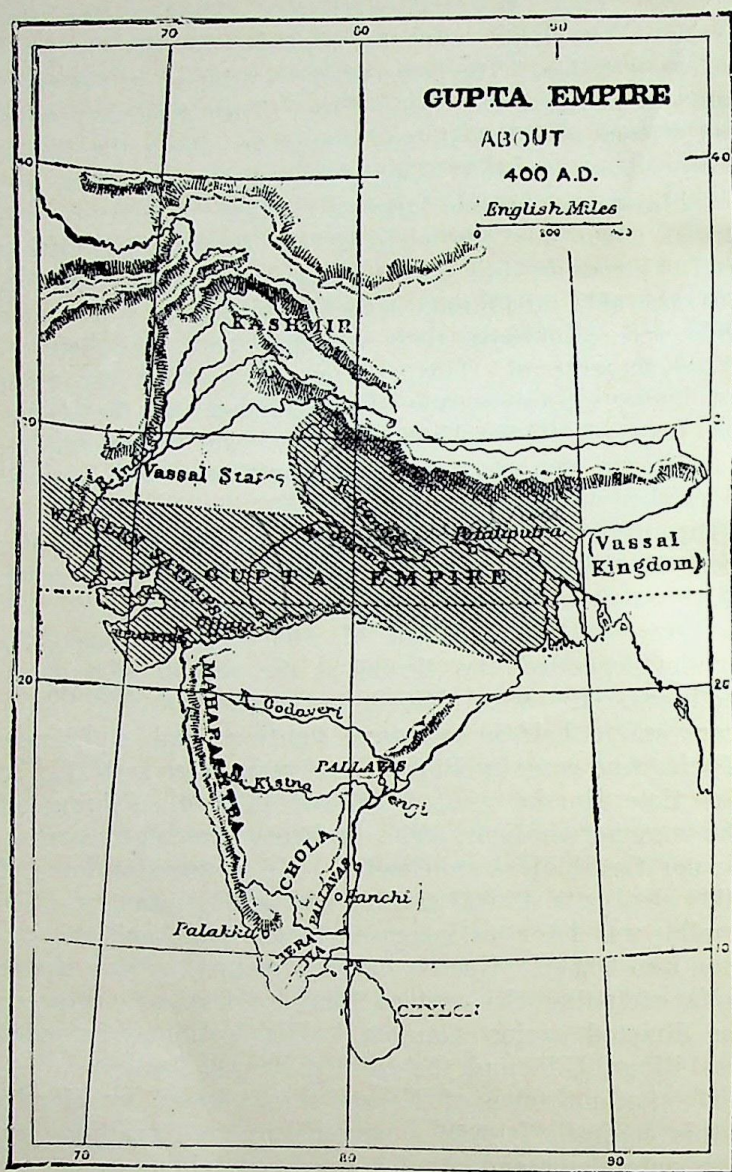
The Indians of this period spoke of all the later barbarians as Hunas or Huns. The Huns came from the Siberian steppes. They were born riders and spent the greater part of their lives on horseback. They were broad-shouldered, small in stature, and

The Huns

possessed great physical strength. They were utter savages. The Huns were accompanied by the Gurjaras and other tribes. The tribe which encamped on the Oxus Valley was called the white Huns. They gradually occupied Persia and Kabul, and began to attack the Gupta empire about A.D. 455. They soon conquered Malwa, and the Guptas had to cede large territories. The Huns soon poured down into the plain of the Ganges, committing fearful atrocities and burning and robbing the people. The miserable inhabitants looked helplessly on while their fields were plundered, their villages burnt, and their relations slaughtered. This went on till the year 565, when the Turks suppressed the Hun Kingdom on the Oxus. The invasion of the Huns destroyed the Gupta empire. It broke up into numerous small kingdoms which possessed neither cohesion, nor strength.

The Kingdom of Kanauj 606-646

The process of the dismemberment of the Gupta empire went on till about A.D. 606 when a strong ruler arose. This man was king Harsha, who was the younger son of the Raja of Thaneshwar. Harsha ascended the throne at the age of seventeen. He was obliged to spend five years and a half in constant fighting, and a Chinese pilgrim who came to India a few years later says that at that time Harsha went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient. The elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unhelmeted. He possessed a force of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry. The cavalry was later on increased to one lakh, and the elephants to 60,000. Harsha took six years to subdue Upper India excluding the western Panjab. His last campaign was directed against Ganjam. His dominions extended over Bihar, U.P. and the eastern Panjab.

The ancient town of Kanauj was selected by Harsha as his capital. It was a magnificent and wealthy city, four miles long and a mile broad, containing numerous fine buildings and adorned with tanks and beautiful

gardens. The Buddhist monasteries numbered more than a hundred, and the Brahmanical temples were numerous. The inhabitants were more or less equally divided in their allegiance to Hinduism and Buddhism. In Harsha's time a famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang visited India. He travelled by the northern route, and after passing through Tashkand, Samarkand, and Kunduz, arrived at the kingdom of Gandhara about the beginning of October, 630 A.D. He visited almost every province in India, and has left a very accurate account of the country, which is of great use to the historian. Hiuen Tsang returned by the southern route, crossing the Pamirs and passing through Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.

Harsha had the good of his subjects at heart, and like Asoka and Akbar he personally supervised his great empire. Hiuen Tsang praises the administration highly though it was less mild than that of the Guptas. Imprisonment was frequent, and mutilation was sometimes inflicted. Again, the roads were not so safe as they had been in the days of Vikramaditya. The taxes were light, and did not exceed one-sixth of the produce of the land. Harsha was an accomplished scholar, and composed a drama, a few poems and three Sanskrit plays. The great Buddhist monasteries of Nalanda in Magadha, and other places were centres of learning. Harsha was primarily a worshipper of Siva, though he permitted himself also to honour the Sun and Buddha. He became later in life more and more Buddhist in sentiment. It is said that he sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or eat. Every five years he held a huge gathering at Allahabad in which he gave away all the accumulated wealth of the royal treasury. He forbade the slaughter of any living thing, or the use of flesh as food, under pain of death. In 646, or early in 647, the king died. Vincent Smith says that Harsha's death loosened the bonds which had held his empire together. The experience of the third and sixth centuries was re-

peated, and a rearrangement of kingdoms was begun, the record of which is obscure. The country was in a state of chaos, and disturbances occurred frequently. There was no strong power which could restrain the disrupting forces. Petty, insignificant states arose which possessed neither strength nor energy, and which were engaged in perpetual strife.

THE GUPTAS

Date	Events.
A.D.	
310 ..	Lichchhavi marriage of Chandragupta I.
320 ..	Chandragupta I's accession to independent power.
335 ..	Accession of Samudragupta.
375 ..	„ „ Chandragupta II.
415 ..	„ „ Kumaragupta.
455 ..	„ „ Skandagupta.
470 ..	Death of Skandagupta.
455 ..	First Hun war.
470–80 ..	Second Hun war.
480–90 ..	Break-up of the Gupta Empire.
500–02 ..	Toramana in Malwa.
500–42 ..	Mihiragula.
528 ..	Defeat of Mihiragula by Yasodharman of Malwa.
565 ..	Suppression of the Huns by the Turks.
606 ..	Accession of Harsha Vardhana, Raja of Thaneshwar, later on King of Kanauj.
612 ..	Coronation of Harsha.
634 ..	Defeat of Harsha by Pulakesin II, Chalukya.
630 ..	Arrival of Hiuen Tsang at Gandhara.
643 ..	Harsha's Ganjam campaign.

CHAPTER IX

The Rajputs

After the break-up of Harsha's empire, the Rajputs became prominent in Indian history. The term "Rajput" simply denotes a tribe, or a clan of warlike habits, the members of which claim aristocratic rank, and were treated by the Brahmanas as representing the Kshatriyas of the old books. Many of the Rajput clans are descended from foreign invaders who entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries; while others are descended from indigenous tribes. It may be affirmed that the most distinguished castes of Rajputana are descended from foreigners.

In ancient times the distinction between the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas was not very rigid. When a Brahmana succeeded in founding a dynasty, and administering the country, his descendants were recognised as Kshatriyas and were allowed to intermarry into Kshatriya families, while a Brahmana family passed into Kshatriya groups or castes. It was often known by the composite designation of Brahma-Kshatriyas. The Rajputs, therefore, are not to be regarded as a people originally of one race, bound together by ties of descent from a common ancestor. They were members of various nomadic races, but later on were Hinduized by marriage alliances with Hindu families. The various Rajput tribes were torn by mutual strife. The tribes were, however, animated by what may be called a clan spirit, and observed similar customs. The Rajputs were born fighters and their courage and endurance won the admiration of their adversaries. They were obedient to their chiefs whom they followed unhesitatingly. They were noted for their loyalty and a

Rajput never gave up his sword or his horse. They indulged in various sports which hardened their physique and habituated them to perseverance and courage. The historian Tod has given a very fine account of their activities. They were remarkable for their chivalry. They trained their women to become true partners in life. A true Rajput woman would much sooner inflict death on herself, than suffer the slightest insult from outsiders. In times of danger they often willingly burnt themselves.

OLD TOWER OF VICTORY, CHITOR

Customs

The Rajputs trained their boys in manly exercises at a very tender age. The little fellows practised with toy scimitars on the heads of goats and of kids; and when they brought down their first wild animal, they were feasted by the families. Thus when they grew into men they imbibed the martial traditions and practised the heroic courage of their ancestors.

The Rajputs spread over a large part of North India. They settled in Rajputana, and occupied the Panjab. Kashmir was also entered, and spreading to the north-east of Oudh they subdued the Central Himalayas. They were the strongest power in North India in the years A.D. 700 to 1200.

In the ninth and tenth centuries the Pratiharas (Parihars) became the leading power in the north. Bengal was ruled by the Palas for four centuries, while Gujrat, Malwa and other kingdoms attained great power and wealth.

The Pratihara Kingdom

The Pratihara power was founded in Malwa about the beginning of the eighth century. About 790 Nagabhata II of this dynasty invaded Kanauj, which was then under a nominee of Dharma-Pala, the king of Bengal. Fighting between the two powers was in progress, when Kanauj was invaded by a third power, Govinda III of the Rashtrakuta, a dynasty of the south.

In 816 the Pratiharas finally conquered Kanauj and transferred their capital there. King Mihira Bhoja (834–888) and Mahendrapala (888–910) of this dynasty were very powerful kings, whose sway extended over Gujrat, Central India, Rajputana, the eastern Panjab, Bihar and even part of Bengal. After them there was no powerful king in the dynasty which disappeared about 1040.

Bengal

Bengal formed a part of the Gupta empire. After that there were many independent rulers. One of such rulers was Sasanka, the contemporary of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. He murdered the elder brother of Harsha, who therefore marched to Bengal to meet Sasanka, but with what results we do not know. After the death of Sasanka Bengal again fell a prey to internal anarchy and external invasions. It was invaded by the kings of Assam, Kanauj, Kashmir etc. In order to get a firm government, the people selected a powerful man, Go-pala, as their king in about 750. Go-pala thus became the founder of the powerful Pala dynasty of

Bengal. His son Dharma-Pala (770–813) was a very powerful king, who extended his kingdom far and wide. He annexed Bihar, deposed the king of Kanauj, placed his own nominee on the throne and marched to the Himalayas. But he was frustrated in his attempts to found an empire by the Pratiharas of Malwa and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan.

His son Deva-Pala (813–55) maintained hold over Bengal and Bihar and invaded Assam and other provinces.

Mahi-Pala (1005–1055) drove away the Kamboja rebels who had occupied Bengal during the reign of his father. His empire extended to Benares in the west, but he suffered defeat at the hands of a general of Rajendra, the Chola king of the Far South.

After the Palas the Senas held power in Bengal. A famous king of the line, Ballala-Sena (1158–78) is said to have reorganized the caste system in Bengal and introduced Kulinism among Brahmanas, Vaidyas and Kayasthas.

His son was Lakshmana-Sena (1178–1200), who though a powerful king, was defeated by the Muhammadans. He was a patron of letters; Jayadeva the famous author of the *Gita-govinda* flourished in his court.

The Chandellas of Bundelkhand have a long history and played an important part in the political history. The early Chandella kings were really Gond chiefs in the territory in which is comprised the modern Chatarpur State. In the ninth century they overthrew the Parihars and established their sway in Bundelkhand. They possessed the strong fortress of Kalinjar. In the tenth century, the Chandellas became independent and King Dhanga established the greatness of his family. The Chandellas sank into obscurity after 1203. They have left some wonderful temples at Mahoba and Khajuraho.

The Chandella Dynasty

The Paramaras founded a dynasty in Malwa, which attained distinction. Raja Bhoja was the most famous prince of the dynasty. He was a great scholar and a

patron of Sanskrit learning. His court was adorned by all the famous poets of the age. He constructed the immense Bhojpur lake, which, formed by damming the Betwa river and a smaller stream, covered an area of 250 square miles. Dhar's decline began after the defeat of Bhoja in 1050 by the allied armies of Gujrat and Chedi.

The Paramaras of Malwa

The Kalachuri or Haihaya power was founded near Jabbalpore in the beginning of the tenth century. The two most powerful kings of the dynasty were Gangeya (1010–41) and his son Karna (1041–72) who became a terror to the whole of India. They extended their empire far and wide. For a short time they became the virtual emperors of India. The dynasty disappeared after 1200.

The Kalachuris of Chedi

About this time a powerful kingdom was probably formed which extended from the mountains beyond the Indus, eastwards as far as the Hakra river. Consequently it comprised a large portion of the Panjab, as well as northern Sind. Its capital was Bhatinda, which was an important fortress on the military road connecting Multan with India proper through Delhi. In the latter part of the tenth century the Raja of Bhatinda was Jaipal who was defeated by Subuktigin of Ghazni. His son Anandapal organised a league against the Muhammadans but with no effect. The Panjab became a Muhammadan province.

Jaipal of Bhatinda

CHAPTER X

The Kingdoms of Southern India

The South has a history which is at least as old as the North, but the scantiness of the material does not allow us to reconstruct it fully. The earliest reference to the Southern powers is found in the inscriptions of Asoka. In the first centuries of the Christian era the South developed a great amount of vernacular literature, which shows that learning was in a flourishing condition.

The southern states may be divided into two groups (1) the kingdoms of the Deccan plateau between the Narmada on the North and Kistna and Tungabhadra on the South. (2) The second group consists of the Tamil kingdoms of the Far South, the Pandyas, Cheras, Cholas and Pallavas.

The Vakatakas

The kingdom of the Vakatakas came into power in Central India about 250 A.D. Though it was probably a northern power, it held a great portion of Hyderabad and the Bombay Presidency. Some of its kings were very powerful. About 400, the Vakataka prince married a daughter of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya. The dynasty continued till about 500.

The Chalukyas

The dynasty of the Chalukyas was founded by Pulakesin I in the middle of the sixth century. His capital was Badami in the Bijapur district, Hyderabad. His grandson Pulakesin II (608–42) who was a contemporary of Harsha, was a powerful and vigorous ruler, who repelled Harsha's invasion of the Deccan. Hiuen Tsang visited his court in 641 and was greatly impressed by his power and ability and the loyalty of his subjects. Pulakesin was defeated and slain by a Pallava king of Kanchi in 642. The

Pallavas and Chalukyas continued a bitter conflict for several years, until a Rashtrakuta chieftain overthrew the Chalukya king in 757.

There was a branch of the Chalukyas ruling in the Andhra districts of the Eastern coast. It was founded in 615 and continued till the middle of the eleventh century. It is known in history as the Eastern Chalukyas.

The Rashtrakutas

The Rashtrakutas, who came to power in the Deccan in 757, were a very old tribe. The line produced some kings of remarkable ability. Dhruva (780–793) and Govinda III (793–814) effected extensive, though temporary conquests in the north. The next king was Amoghavarsha (814–877), who was regarded by Sulaiman, an Arab merchant-traveller in the ninth century, as one of the most eminent kings of India. The last of the Rashtrakutas was dethroned in 973 by Tailapa II, who founded the second Chalukya dynasty with its capital at Kalyani.

The Chalukyas of Kalyani

During this period the Cholas of the Far South rose into great prominence, and carried on a hereditary struggle with the Chalukyas. The most famous ruler of the new Chalukya dynasty was Vikramaditya VI (1076–1126). He waged wars with southern powers, and the Cholas were defeated. The Chalukya dynasty declined in the twelfth century and the power passed into the hands of the Yadavas and Hoysalas. Bijjala, a rebel, occupied the throne for some time and abdicated in 1167. Bijjala's reign is famous for the rise of the Lingayat sect. The Lingayats worship Siva, object to child-marriage, approve of the re-marriage of widows and dislike the Brahmanas. They were determined opponents of Jainism.

The Hoysalas were descended from a petty chieftain in the Western Ghats. They did not become independent until about A.D. 1190. They first came into prominence in the time of Bittiga. He carried on his wars successfully and greatly increased his dominions. He played a

The Hoysalas of Mysore

very important part in the religious life of the peninsula and in the growth of Indian art. In early life Bittiga was a Jain, and he repaired a number of Jain temples destroyed by the ruthless Cholas. Later on, he came under the influence of Ramanuja who converted him to faith in Vishnu. He then adopted the name Vishnuvardhana and erected magnificent temples.

Ramanuja

Ramanuja was educated at Kanchi and lived in the Trichinopoly district in the reign of Adbirajendra Chola. The latter, however, was a follower of the Saiva faith, and Ramanuja went to Mysore, where he stayed till the death of the Chola king. He then returned to his native town and died there. Ramanuja converted numerous persons to his doctrines, and exercised great influence in his time. He was the leading opponent of Sankaracharya's doctrines. The Hoysalas were defeated by Malik Kafur in 1310 and their capital was destroyed in 1326 or 1327.

The Pallavas

The origin of the Pallavas is shrouded in mystery. Some say that they were Parthians or Parthians of the north-west; others that they were connected with the Kurumbas, originally a pastoral people, who are frequently mentioned in early Tamil lore. The Pallavas appeared on the scene after the time of Karikala Chola, and they probably established themselves in the third century on the eastern coast. Of the Tamil states, the Pandya kingdom comprised the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly with parts of the Travancore State. The Chola country included Madras with several adjoining districts, and a large part of the Mysore State. The Chera or Kerala kingdom consisted of the region of the Western Ghats to the south of the Chandragiri River. The boundaries of the Pallavas, on the other hand, changed from time to time. Their capital was Kanchi or Conjeeveram near Madras.

The Pallavas were the strongest power in the far south from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century. Their empire comprised at one time North Arcot, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore, while their rule was acknowledged from the Orissan frontier on the north to the Southern Pennar River on the south, and from the Bay of Bengal on the east to a line drawn through Salem, Bangalore and Berar on the west. Mahendra Varman (A.D. 600) made his reign memorable by undertaking public works including temples, caves and reservoirs. Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi in A.D. 640. He has left a very interesting account of the country. He stated that the soil was fertile, wheat was cultivated, and the inhabitants were courageous, trustworthy, public-spirited, and fond of learning. The language was Tamil; the buildings in Kanchi were planned on a magnificent scale. There were more than a hundred Buddhist monasteries with 10,000 monks. Non-Buddhist temples also abounded.

Narasimha Varma (630–68), the ablest and most successful king of the Pallava dynasty, patronized art with great zeal and his artists wrought remarkable relief sculptures on the rocks. The Pallavas founded a school of architecture and sculpture, which is highly admired by experts. At the end of the ninth century they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cholas who allied themselves with the Pandyas for this purpose. From that time the Pallava kingdom declined rapidly, and though Pallava chiefs continued to exist as petty rulers till the thirteenth century, in the tenth century the Pallavas as a distinct dynasty disappeared. The early Pallava kings seem to have been Buddhists, but later on they adopted Hinduism. Some kings followed the cult of Vishnu, others that of Siva. Mahendra, who was originally a Jain, became a devout follower of Siva, and destroyed a large Jain monastery in South Arcot. Hiuen Tsang tells us that the Digam-

bara sect of Jains included a large number of influential men. They seem to have been numerous in his time.

The Chola Dynasty

The Chola dynasty came into great prominence in 907. This is the date of the accession of Parantaka I, son and successor of Aditya who conquered the Pallavas. One of the greatest kings of the Cholas was Rajaraja the Great (985–1014). Under him the Cholas established their supremacy over all the Tamil powers, and the Pandyas were obliged to submit. He built up a powerful navy, and annexed a large number of islands. His kingdom comprised the eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi, Coorg, the Pandya country, large tracts in the tableland of the Deccan, Quilon or Kollam on the Malabar coast, Kalinga and Ceylon. Rajendra Chola Deva I (1014–44) extended his empire even further. He temporarily occupied Pegu, the Andamans, and Nicobar islands, and his general defeated Mahipala the king of Bengal and Bihar in 1023. In the thirteenth century the Chola power declined and soon after the Pandya kings became independent. The Muhammadan invasion in 1310 and the rise of Vijayanagar extinguished the Chola dynasty and its institutions.

The Government of the Cholas

The Chola administration seems to have been efficient. Villages or the union of villages were the pivot around which the Governmental machinery revolved. A group of villages, or *Kurram* as it was called, managed its local affairs through the agency of an assembly which possessed and exercised ample powers subject to the control of the royal officers. Elaborate instructions were issued to officers. Each *Kurram* possessed a local treasury, and had complete control over the village lands. Various committees were appointed from time to time to look after tanks, gardens and other departments. Above the *Kurrams* was the district; above the districts the division, and several divisions formed a province. The kingdom contained nine provinces under Raja Raja. The state

claimed one-sixth of the gross produce as land revenue. Really it was much higher, as to this various imposts should be added. Probably it was four-fifteenths of the produce. The Cholas maintained a powerful navy, and constructed magnificent irrigation works which served as a protection against famine. Numerous public works of great utility were carried out by the Chola rulers. The roads were kept in good order. The system of village assemblies or *Panchayats* was a very important contribution of the Cholas, for by this means the government gained popular support. The Chola administration was well organized, and efficient. The Chola kings were devoted followers of the God Siva, though they tolerated other sects also.

The Pandya Kingdom

Very little is known about the Pandya kingdom, and Hiuen Tsang, who did not personally visit the Pandya country, tells us nothing about it. At that time the Pandya Raja was probably tributary to the Pallavas. Buddhism had died out, and the ancient monasteries were in ruins. The Jains suffered great persecution at the hands of the king called King Sundara, or Nedumaran Pandya, who had originally been a Jain. It is said that 8,000 Jains were impaled. The Pandyas were engaged in constant wars with the Pallavas, and declined rapidly after the Muslim invasion, in 1310. Marco Polo visited Kayal twice, in 1288 and 1293. He described it as a great and noble city, and frequented by numerous ships from Arabia and China. The king was very rich and maintained a splendid state. He was just and generous and patronized merchants and foreigners.

The Chera Kingdom

The Chera kingdom included the modern Travancore State. Here too the village *Panchayats* played a prominent part in the administration. Little is known about this kingdom. It was kept in check by the powerful members of the Chola dynasty.

SOUTHERN INDIA

A. The Deccan Plateau.

Date	Events
230 B.C. to A.D. 225 ..	Satavahana supremacy.
A.D. 300–550 ..	The Kadambas, Gangas, etc. (History very obscure).
	Chalukyas of Badami.
550 ..	Pulakesin I.
608–42 ..	Pulakesin II, grandson of Pulakesin I.
630 ..	Repulse of Harsha by Pulakesin II.
642 ..	Defeat of Pulakesin by the Pallavas.
757 ..	Rashtrakuta conquest of the Chalukyas.
815–77 ..	King Amoghavarsha, Rashtrakuta sovereign.
851 ..	Arab merchant Sulaiman.
914–16 ..	Indra III.
973 ..	Kakka II, last Rashtrakuta ruler, defeated by Tailapa.
	Chalukyas of Kalyani.
1076–1126 ..	Vikramanka or Vikramaditya VI.
1156 ..	Usurpation of Bijjala Kalachurya.
1190 ..	End of the Chalukya dynasty.
	The Hoysalas of Mysore.
1190 ..	The Hoysalas became independent.
1111–41 ..	Bittideva or Bittiga.
	(Came under the influence of Ramanujacharya).
1173–1220	Vir Vallala Hoysala.
1191–92 ..	Defeated the Yadavas of Devagiri.
1310–27 ..	Hoysalas destroyed by the Muhammadans.
	Yadavas of Devagiri (Daulatabad)
1190–1318 ..	The Yadava dynasty.
	B. THE TAMIL KINGDOMS OF THE SOUTH.
	Pandyas.
4th century B.C.	Probable beginning of the historical period of the Pandyas.
3rd century B.C.	Pandyas, contemporary of Asoka.

SOUTHERN INDIA—(*continued*)

Date	Events.
20 B.C. ..	Mission of King Pandyan to Augustus Caesar.
A.D.	
7th century ..	The Pandyas noticed by Hiuen Tsang.
8th–10th centuries ..	Pandya conflict with the Pallavas.
10th century onwards ..	Pandyas acknowledge the supremacy of the Cholas.
994 ..	Pandya king reduced to dependence by Raja Raja the Great, Chola king.
1100–1567 ..	Pandya rajas, 17 in number, ruled more or less extensive territories.
	Chera or Kerala Kingdom.
3rd century B.C.	Earliest reference in Asoka's inscriptions.
A.D.	
1st century ..	The Keralas known to Pliny and author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
1312 ..	Ravivarman crowned king of the Cheras and played a prominent part in the organized resistance offered to Malik Kafur.
	Cholas.
3rd century B.C.	Recognized by Asoka as independent.
A.D.	
350 ..	Cholas declined in power on account of the rise of the Pallavas.
350–700 ..	Blank in Chola history.
640 ..	Notices of the Chola Kingdom by Hiuen Tsang.
740 ..	Rise of the Cholas to importance as a result of the conflict between the Chalukyas and Pallavas.
880–907 ..	Aditya Chola conquered Aparajita Pallava and put an end to Pallava supremacy.
907 ..	Accession of Parantaka Chola.
953 ..	Death of Parantaka.
985 ..	Accession of Raja Raja the Great.
1014 ..	Accession of Rajendra I.
1023 ..	Defeated Mahipala of Bengal.
1044 ..	Accession of Rajadhiraja Chola.
1052 ..	Rajadhiraja slain in battle.
1370 ..	The Chola Kingdom passed under the rule of Vijayanagar.

SOUTHERN INDIA—(*continued*)

Date	Events
	Pallavas.
	ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.
3rd century B.C.	The beginning of the dynasty.
A.D.	
350 ..	Vishnugopa of Kanchi defeated by Samudragupta.
550–750 ..	Conflict between the Chalukyas and Pallavas.
600–25 ..	Mahendra Varman I.
640 ..	Hiuen Tsang at Kanchi.
625–45 ..	Narasimha Varman.
740 ..	Pallava power shaken by the Chalukyas.
900 ..	Aditya Chola defeated Aparajita Pallava.
10th and 11th centuries. ..	Wars between the Rashtrakutas, Western Gangas and the Pallavas.
12th and 13th centuries.	Pallavas existed as local rajas and feudatory nobles in the service of the territorial kingdoms.

CHAPTER XI

Some Aspects of Hindu Civilization

"Owing chiefly to the gigantic mountain barrier which isolates the Peninsula from the rest of the world, the civilization of India displays not only an originality, but also a continuity, which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere. Thus no other country (with the possible exception of China) can trace its language, literature, and institutions through an uninterrupted development of more than three thousand years. Though its history has passed through many vicissitudes, yet a certain continuity and constant development have been visible all through. From Vedic times to the coming of the Muhammadans in the eleventh century, the civilization has been peculiarly Indian; and though many foreign influences have acted from time to time, they were all amalgamated and an Indian culture was evolved. The result was a highly developed civilization, in all its aspects, which it bequeathed to the new conquerors coming from the north-west, imbued with the Semitic ideals and a foreign religion. Thus the Muhammadans received a structure upon which they superimposed their own institutions, but left the base unaffected."

It is a mistake to suppose that the Hindus had attained eminence in religious thought alone. Though religion engaged most of their attention, yet progress in other branches was not interrupted. In philosophy, art, and social and political organization, the Hindus had evolved a system which was the surprise of all. Indian philosophy embraces many systems of thought from atheism to theism, from materialism to a highly developed spiritualism. In art, eminence was reached in sculpture, painting and architecture, as is evidenced by the many archæological excava-

tions made during the last few years. The Hindus had a literature, both secular and religious. They tried their hands, with equal success, at poetry, drama, folk-lore, philosophical and devotional treatises, and grammar and technology. Their social and political organization was far from primitive. Though they did not develop a representative democratic form of government like the Greeks, yet their state was so conceived as to afford liberty and prosperity to all the subjects, of whatever race or religion they might be. In industrial and economic development they did not lag behind. Viewed from all sides, the Hindu civilization, which we find portrayed by many foreign writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, seems highly developed.

Social Organization

To begin with, we may see how society was divided and what were the gradations therein. One peculiarity about Hindu society had been its division into various castes based on occupational and matrimonial differences. In the later Vedic age, traces of this division are visible. Society then is grouped into four grades or castes: Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, according to their occupations. The duty of the Brahmanas was to worship the gods and propitiate the tribal, local and family deities. The Kshatriyas fought in the defence of the state and looked after the civic welfare of the people. The Vaisyas engaged themselves in agriculture, trade and industry and ministered to the material wants of society. It was the duty of the Sudras to serve the three castes and help them in performing their functions efficiently. This was the original division of society based on its needs and occupational differences. But there was no exclusivism at that time, though it developed very soon. Up to the ninth or tenth century A.D. the castes had not become water-tight compartments as at present, and there were not very strict prohibitions as regards inter-marriage and inter-dining. In pre-Buddhistic and even post-Buddhistic

times, Brahmans married into the groups below them, and dined with all classes. But Buddhist preaching aimed at the removal of all such differences, and for more than eight centuries caste had not a firm hold. With the revival of Hinduism under the Guptas, caste differences again became prominent and in a few centuries assumed a serious shape. By the time of the Muslim invasions, castes had become exclusive groups; and every profession was a separate caste neither inter-marrying nor inter-dining with other castes.

It is a matter of controversy as to whether caste retarded the political growth of the Hindus. The history of the times shows that there were no caste-feuds, for it was not so rigid as it is now. It was an economic and social arrangement for the benefit of the community. In later times, however, the *Smritis* (the law-books) show that caste counted for much in the award of punishments. Yet there was much freedom of social intercourse, and association on terms of equality of men belonging to the different castes. Caste, thus, did not then stand in the way of the unity of the Indian people.

Political Organization

One man's rule over the whole country from the Himalayas to the south was an exception rather than a rule. The country was divided into many smaller states, each governed by a separate chief, and all either fighting or combining amongst themselves. From time to time the tendency towards union was visible and an empire was established under a strong ruler. But such empires always allowed complete freedom to the parts. The Emperor was content with only the establishment of his suzerainty and left the feudatories to govern their kingdoms as before. The Maurya Empire, the Kushan Empire or the Empire of the Guptas had a similar experience, and when the controlling hand of a suzerain lord was removed there was always a decay which ended in the re-establishment of similar states. Local government was in the hands of town or village

societies and was seldom affected by the changes at the head. The village was self-contained and was the unit of administration. The village communities were little units, self-sufficient and independent. The state was nothing more than a collection of such village communities, which preserved the people of India through all revolutions. Thus at the time of the Muslim invasions the country presented a variety of small independent states, all fighting among themselves. The village government was independent and even under the Muslim rule, the villages retained their local freedom.

The King was the head of the state, but he had no legislative functions. The laws were religious in character and were fixed for ever. He had no right to change them and had himself to conform strictly to them. He was the military and administrative head of the state. He decided all cases according to the Hindu legal theory, and took advice from the learned Brahmanas present in his court. The King was never absolute. He had a council of ministers, the number of which varied, and which always acted as a check on his absolute power. The people, too, assembled in court and often gave their opinion on important matters of state. The law was also strict on kingly duties, and an inefficient, cruel or unjust king had no right to claim the loyalty of his people. He was always in fear of losing his life or throne, and this was a very wholesome check on his license. Under the king there was a hierarchy of state officials for civil and military purposes, from the village chief to the governor of Vishaya and Desha, the sub-divisions of the kingdom corresponding to modern districts and divisions.

Taxes on land formed the mainstay of the state. It was one-sixth of the produce and in addition the kings levied customs duty, octroi and other taxes from the people. Standing armies were not popular though they were paid and kept by the rulers. These together with contingents from the feudatories formed the strength of

the army, which was led by the ruler himself or his commander-in-chief in the field of battle.

At the time of the Muslim invasions there were no republics, though Buddhist literature gives references to many such. They had no kings to rule them, but managed their affairs by large assemblies composed of the elders of the community. These republics were ended by the establishment of imperial dynasties. By the tenth century, there was nothing except monarchies throughout the country, and public opinion had so changed as to make the kings divine rulers. This made the people indifferent, and they took no interest in the wars and alliances of their kings.

Religion

The original simplicity of the Vedic religion gave place to ritual sacrifices in which minor details were conceived with great care. Animal sacrifices had become current, and there were minute regulations for their observance which required ministration by priests. It was against these that Buddhism arose as a protest. It aimed at the abolition of ritualism and laid emphasis on the purity of life and thought. All were equal, and it was the individual who, by leading a righteous life, could assure for himself peace in this world and final renunciation. But Buddhism also in course of time developed a ritualistic side in which the worship of images of Buddha and presents to monks and priests formed the chief items. Gradually it lost its old vigour, and left the way open for the revival of Brahmanism. Under the Guptas, Hinduism was regenerated. Caste, belief in the infallibility of the Vedas and the greatness of the Brahmanas were its chief features. Image worship was general. Many new sects were founded. Saivism, Vaishnavism and the worship of the Sun-god were the most important. Later on *Saktism,* or the worship of the power of the Almighty conceived in a female form, gained great popularity. Buddhism was driven out by a systematic crusade set up by scholars like Kumarila and

Sankara. The latter travelled far and wide and by his logical disputations brought back the bulk of the people into the folds of Hinduism. The doctrine was firmly established, and Buddhism found shelter in the north-east alone.

But by the coming of Muhammadans many new forms of religious belief had grown up. Some worshipped Siva, while others worshipped the fire, Ganesha, the Sun, Bhairava and Maitreya, Kartikeya, the god of war, Yama the god of death, Varuna, sky, water, snakes, the ghosts, etc., according to their own inclinations. Disputes among these sects were frequent, but persecutions by the kings on the score of faith were rare at that time. Toleration was the chief feature of Hindu society, and the fact that so many sects flourished side by side is an eloquent testimony to its existence. The advent of the Muhammadans could not check this tendency to disintegration into various sects, and even during the mediæval ages many new forms of religious worship grew up.

Literature

The literature furnishes the key to the civilization of the Hindus. It is both secular and religious, and is a fine index of the social and religious conditions. The difficulty is that chronological limits cannot be fixed to any work. The earlier literature was mainly religious. The *Vedas, Upanishads, Brahmanas* and the *Sutras* all treat of metaphysics and theology. Even the Pali works of Buddhist authors are imbued with theology and are treatises on the various aspects of that religion. It was later on that secular literature developed. The first works of a secular type were the epic poems, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana.* Later on, with the revival of Brahmanism under the Guptas or a few centuries before that, much secular literature was produced. The poetic compositions of Kalidas and Bhavabhuti rank among the best in the world. The dramatic works, *Sakuntala* and *Uttara Ramcharitam,*

are two gems which hold their own in the literature of the world. *Raghuvamsa*, *Kumarsambhava*, and *Meghadhuta* of Kalidas, *Kiratarjuniya* of Bharavi and *Sisupalavadha* of Magha are some of the finest poetical compositions of the time. Prose romances were also written. *Dasakumarcharita* of Dandin, *Vasavadatta* of Subandhu, *Kadambari* and *Harshacharita* of Bana are some of the best which give a clear idea of the literary faculty and taste of the Hindus. Proficiency was attained by the Hindus in philosophy and a vast literature sprang up. Vedanta was the most popular and many treatises upon it were written in the last two centuries of Hindu rule. Other branches of learning, grammar, rhetoric, astronomy, arithmetic, economics, and even history, though meagrely, received their due share of attention at the hands of Hindu scholars. This vast literature was the legacy of Hindu India, was treasured by the scholars in their memory, and was transmitted to us, though not in all its completeness.

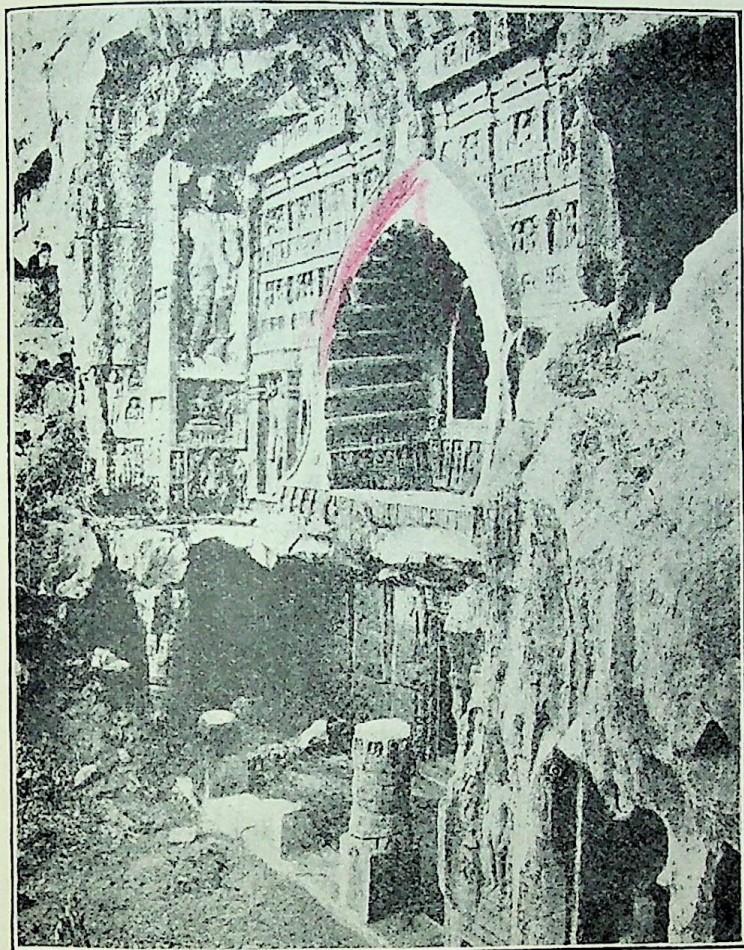
Education

For such a high attainment in learning and literature it was necessary to have educational institutions. In Hindu India there were many big universities where thousands of students flocked to learn at the feet of renowned teachers. The Buddhist universities of Taxila in the north-west and later on Nalanda in Bihar were the two main centres of learning in Northern India where education was given in all branches of knowledge. Besides, there were hundreds of places where renowned teachers taught a select band of students. Benares had become the home of learning and there, in every house, a teacher taught theology, philosophy and other sciences. The royal courts patronized learning and encouraged poets, philosophers and dialecticians to come and discuss in the open courts. In this way learning was given a stimulus, and it could be said that the mass of the people in the Hindu state were not without some education.

Art and Architecture

In painting, sculpture and architecture, the Hindus expressed the lofty principles of their religious and philosophical systems. Archæological excavations in the last few years have revealed a rich treasure of such remains and give a view of the eminence which the Hindus had attained in these arts. The traces of Hindu art thus unearthed show mainly its religious character. Except for the discoveries in Patna, Bhita or Taxila there are not many traces of the secular habitations of the people and princes. The architectural remains of the times are mostly Hindu temples, and Buddhist stupas or monasteries. The south is particularly rich in such temples, which were mostly built about the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The temples of Tanjore and Madura are massive structures showing a variety of detail, which gives vigour and beauty to the entire edifice. The temples of northern India could not escape the ravaging hands of foreign invaders, and hence no such specimens of Hindu religious architecture are to be seen in that part of India.

But richer has been the contribution of sculpture, which though broken and mutilated, has been unearthed in recent years. Images of Buddha abound in the finds of the earlier centuries. In later years the carving of the images of Siva, Vishnu, in all its various forms, and Surya were very popular. Besides this the walls of temples and palaces were beautified with carvings on stone illustrating legends taken from the *Jataka* stories in the case of Buddhistic edifices, and the *Puranas* in that of the Brahmanical ones. The sculpture on the railings of Sanchi and Bharhut *stupas* shows richness of imagination and variety of designs. The birth stories of Buddha have been depicted there. The figures of men, beasts and plants were conceived and beautifully worked. Later on the Hindu work of the Gupta age attained an unprecedented eminence and we meet with the figures of kings and gods side by side. The temples are decorated with the figures

of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, taken from the *Puranas*. The Gupta age marks the highest point in proficiency. It became somewhat worse in later years, but

AJANTA CAVE

was still popular in the country. It was only with the coming of the Muhammadans that this art languished in the north for lack of encouragement and patronage.

Similarly in painting, the Hindus had attained an eminence which is a surprise to everyone at the present day. The paintings in the caves of Ajanta and Bagh reached a high state of efficiency. The pictures were painted primarily for the edification of pious Buddhists, and the subjects are confined to those drawn from Buddhist mythology or legend. The *Jataka* stories have been identified in some, while in others there may be references to some contemporary political event. Very few traces of non-Buddhistic paintings have been found. But painting flourished at all times, and absorbing the Muslim art, evolved in later years, a peculiar school of painting known as the Rajput school.

Social conditions

The last thing to mention about the Hindus is their social life. Owing to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism, the Hindus who came in contact with the Muslims were mostly observers of *Ahimsa.* Meat eating was not then very popular. Drinking was forbidden by the religious books and the higher castes of Hindus did not drink. There were liquor shops, nevertheless, and the state made a large income from them. Secondly, there was no objection, as yet, to inter-dining and the higher caste people usually inter-dined. Sudras often were engaged as cooks and so it seems that caste restrictions were not so strict as at present. In marriages, too, there was more freedom and except that a Sudra could not marry a wife of a higher caste, there were no great restrictions on inter-marriage. There were definite rules which permitted Brahmanas to marry into any of the castes below. In dress and ornaments, the Hindus were always very simple, and there was not much difference in the dress of a rich and a poor man except in the texture of the cloth. Weaving was well developed.

The two peculiar institutions of the country, viz., enforced widowhood and child-marriages had begun before the coming of the Muhammadans. Up to the time

of Harsha it is clear that girls were married late, when they had attained maturity, but during the next few centuries child marriages were celebrated occasionally. Enforced widowhood, however, was an old institution. There are also a few evidences of *Sati* at this time.

The Hindus were always considered by foreigners to hold a good reputation for probity. They were honest in their commercial intercourse, God-fearing and pious.

Thus, the Hindu civilization was still in its prime when the Muhammadans invaded India, though degeneracy had set in in some quarters. The Hindus had to contend with an alien culture and a different religious belief and could not assimilate the foreigners as they had done the Sakas and the Huns. The Semitic culture with its militarism, and burning zeal for Islam attacked the old Hindu society and threatened its destruction. But Hindu civilization was still able to survive owing to its social organization and the vigorous life of village communities. The invaders might sweep over the land, but the village communities continued to function. In a short time a partial fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures took place and a new and vigorous society was the result.

India's relation with the Outer world

India has always maintained cultural and commercial relations with the outside world. Navigation of the deep seas has been a common feature of her sailors and merchants. Trade with the Near East greatly flourished in the early period of Indian history. Later on, India supplied the Roman Empire with articles of luxury. South India took a particularly prominent part in these maritime activities. Later on trade with the Western World declined, giving place to trade with the Eastern Archipelago.

Besides this Indian culture spread to distant lands and has greatly influenced Asiatic thought. In the time of Asoka, Buddhism spread to Ceylon and Burma, in the first century B.C. to Central Asia, in the first century A.D.

to China, whence it made its way to Korea and Japan. In Tibet it appeared in the seventh century A.D.

The spread of Hinduism in the Far East is particularly interesting. Side by side with Buddhism, Hinduism had a great hold on the people of Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Java and Bali. The people used Sanskrit as the cultured language and Sanskrit texts were extensively used in these lands. So thoroughly did the people adopt Indian culture that they believed the heroes of Indian epics, Rama and Arjuna, were members of their race and country. Kings bore Hindu names and Hindu ceremonies were observed in royal courts. The island of Bali is still Hindu to a very large extent. It observes some sort of caste system and uses a Hindu calendar.

The monuments that were produced in the Far East and Eastern Archipelago as a result of the spread of Indian culture are extremely interesting. The most famous of them are the Siva temple at Angkor in Cambodia, a huge Buddhist stupa at Borobudur and the Ramayana scenes depicted in stone at Prambanan in Java.

PART II

CHAPTER I

Muslim Invasions of India

The Prophet Muhammad was born in 570 A.D. at Mecca. He acquired great fame for the purity of his character, and the sweetness and generosity of his disposition. His exemplary life won him the esteem of his tribe and in early youth his fame spread far and wide. His noble life and selfless activity made him highly respected and his fellow citizens called him *Al-Amin*, the Trusty. From early youth he was given to meditation, and he took special interest in the protection of widows, orphans and helpless strangers. He received revelation from God to preach new doctrines to the inhabitants of Mecca, and his burning zeal and fiery enthusiasm for the new religion made him very unpopular among the inhabitants of Mecca. He held forth against image-worship and denounced numerous evils that had crept into the life of the Arabs. The prophet was obstinately resisted by his own people and he was obliged to leave Mecca in 622 A.D. His departure for Medina is called the Hijrat (Exile), in European Annals, and the Muslim calendar dates from this period.

Islam and its founder

Severe ordeals of thirst and hunger, even the hourly fear of assassination did not discourage the prophet. He remained firm in his mission, and a small band of devoted followers gave him timely and much valuable help. In a short time the personality of the prophet acquired a wonderful hold over the mind of his fellow-countrymen, and soon their hatred was changed into a holy zeal for the

new faith. He brought about a great change in the character of the Arab people, and impressed on their minds the need for unity, and secondly the desirability of spreading 'truth' which is equivalent to 'Islam'. The death of the Prophet Muhammad occurred on June 8, A.D. 632.

The new doctrines of social equality and religious piety made a fascinating appeal to the fiery Arabs. They laid aside their petty feuds and used all their energy to spread the new faith to the farthest limits of the known world. Their ambition was crowned with success; and within a short space of twenty years they became masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia. Their westward expansion terminated with the subjugation of Spain, while on the east, Sind seemed to be within easy reach. The first recorded expedition was sent to invade the coast of India in A.D. 636–7.

Conquest of Sind

The really serious attempt to conquer Sind was made in A.D. 711 when an occasion was furnished by the defeat and humiliation of an army sent by Hajjaj, the governor of Persia on behalf of the Caliph, to chastise Dahir, who had misappropriated certain valuable presents sent by the ruler of Ceylon to the Khalifa. The leader of this expedition was Muhammad bin Qasim, whom the astrologers had divined to be the fittest man to be placed in charge of it. Qasim was furnished with all the requisites of warfare. Six thousand picked Syrian and Iranian warriors, with an equal number of camel riders, a baggage train of 3,000 Bactrian camels and five catapults were sent to Debal to help him. With such magnificent equipment it is no wonder that Qasim's march through Sind was a series of glorious achievements. Debal was taken by storm, and the city witnessed a scene of plunder and of terrible carnage for three days. Qasim followed up this victory by crossing the river Indus, and surprising Dahir and his *thakurs* who had entrenched themselves behind it. A dreadful conflict ensued, and the chances of fortune

brought death and defeat to Dahir. The death of the Raja meant the subjugation of the province. All the important fortresses capitulated, and for the time being it seemed that Muslim rule had been established quite firmly.

But Muslim success in Sind was as short-lived as it was phenomenal. Qasim was recalled and disgraced by the Caliph. He was not succeeded by capable officers, nor were they properly helped by the central government at Baghdad, which rightly considered Sind to be a barren and unproductive province. The Muslim colonists there became involved in domestic strife, which weakened their position, lowered their prestige, and brought about a revival of Hindu power in Sind.

From a political point of view, the Arab conquest of Sind was a comparatively insignificant event in the Muhammadan world, but its real importance lies in the influence which it exercised on the culture of Islam. The Arabs for the first time came into direct contact with the Indo-Aryan civilization which had reached a far higher plane than their own. India influenced the Arabs in many ways. From her the Arabs learned the principles of architecture; to her they owed their knowledge of astronomy; and from her they learnt music and other sciences. Hence the Muslim conquest of Sind made it easy for the two communities to learn and profit by the best features of the civilization of both the races.

The Interregnum

For the next few centuries we hear little of any attempt on the part of the Muslims to conquer India. During this period great changes had taken place in the once extensive Muslim empire. The Caliphate, at one time a tower of strength, had declined, and the Empire was cut up and divided into a number of independent but weak states. Of the latter, the Samanid Kingdom was the most important. It had, however, to give way before the rising tide of Turkish invasion. The Turks soon destroyed the latter, and built up for themselves small, independent principalities.

Narrow territorial limits could not satisfy the ambition of all, and the more zealous amongst the Turks turned their attention to different directions. Alaptagin was one of them. He seized Ghazni in A.D. 962 and established his independent power. He was succeeded by his slave Sabuktagin, a talented man who had gained his spurs during the lifetime of his master. He ruled with great firmness and tact, improved the administration and extended the bounds of the small principality which he had inherited from his predecessor. Though himself a Turk, he won the sympathy and co-operation of the native Afghans and with their help succeeded in accomplishing his ambitious designs. In his onward march towards the east his path was barred by Jayapala, the Raja of Lahore, whose kingdom extended from Sirhind to Lamghan, and from Kashmir to Multan. But Sabuktagin was not a man to allow any opposition to stand in his way and at the head of a huge army he advanced to try conclusions with the Hindu Raja. Jayapala had not the means to oppose the invader, and twice sued for peace; but he disregarded the terms to which he himself had agreed, and after receiving help from the princes of Ajmere, Kalinjar and Kanauj, he advanced to meet Sabuktagin. Jayapala was defeated and compelled to recognize Muslim sovereignty and to pay a heavy tribute to the invader. Sabuktagin died in A.D. 997 leaving a large and well-established kingdom for Mahmud. He prepared the way for the future glories of his successor.

Mahmud and his Ancestors

Mahmud of Ghazni was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Persian culture, and the literary renaissance in Persia found in him a most magnificent Patron. Four hundred poets with Unsuri, the poet-laureate, at their head, constantly waited upon the veteran war lord, in whom military zeal was tempered by the softening influence of the liberal Persian culture. Poets from far and near flocked to his court. Firdausi's name stands supreme among

Mahmud's Patronage of learning

them. Farrukhi and Minuchihri occupy a place in the very centre of their front rank. Nor was poetry the only art which claimed his liberal patronage. His friend, the mathematician-scholar, Abi Rihan Alberuni, the author of the immortal work *Tarikh-i-Hind*, which gives us such a profound, penetrating, scientific and accurate study of Hindu philosophy and manners, flourished at his court for some time. It was, however, in generalship that Mahmud excelled. War was, as it were, the very breath of his nostrils. From Ispahan to Kalinjar, Samarqand to Anhilwara and Patan, Mahmud of Ghazni subdued every opponent and defeated every rival. His exploits in the east rivalled those of Alexander. He was a cautious, bold, scientific general, a strategist and tactician of the highest merit. Indeed he is one of the greatest soldiers of the middle ages. Mahmud had a strong sense of justice, but it was the crude justice of a mediæval despot who often recognized no law except his own will. He was munificent in his gifts to poets and scholars and the charge of stinginess laid at his door is without any foundation. Some peevish poets, notably Firdausi, wrote some satirical poetry upon the king's miserliness. But poets in all ages have been known as a class hard to please. He was essentially secular in his outlook on politics and problems of the state. He was not a missionary; the motive of his Indian expeditions was conquest, fame and wealth. He appreciated merit, irrespective of caste or creed, wherever he found it. He was an empire builder, not a crusader.

Mahmud was not a constructive statesman. There is not a single law which stands to his credit. He did nothing to ensure the safety of the caravan routes. He devised no police system to keep down crime and lawlessness. No administrative measures of importance came from him. Conquerors are seldom good administrators and that Mahmud failed to organize his empire need not detract from the merit of this mediæval Sultan, whose career sheds a lustre upon the pages of mediæval history.

Mahmud, though Sabuktagin's eldest son, did not obtain his father's throne without a struggle, for his claims were disputed by a younger brother Ismail. The latter was defeated and confined in a fortress, and Mahmud became undisputed monarch of his kingdom. He was endowed with all the qualities of a great prince, and his reign reflected lustre upon his faith. Under his rule the wolf and the lamb drank together at the same brook. But Mahmud was not merely a great military leader. He was also a patron of learning and art. He made the city of Ghazni extremely attractive both intellectually and artistically. Famous poets and renowned scholars lived at his court. The name of Firdausi, the author of *Shahnamah,* stands supreme. Neither the number nor the sequence of his invasions can be accurately determined. The most important of them were as follows:—

Accession of Mahmud and his character

The Panjab was invaded twice. On the first occasion Mahmud met Jayapala, the old and inveterate enemy of his father. Jayapala was defeated on the plains of Peshwar (A.D. 1001) and captured together with fifteen of his kinsmen. He concluded a peace with Mahmud, and afterwards perished in the flames of the funeral pyre. On the second occasion (1008–9) Mahmud found himself face to face with a gallant army of the Hindu Rajas of Northern India led by Anandapala, the son of Jayapala. It seemed to the Muslims as if divine help had saved Mahmud from the pains of death and the ignominy of defeat. Just in the thick of the battle Anandapala's elephant took flight, and this was a signal for a general stampede. An enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors.

His Invasions of India

The conquest of Nagarkot ranks among the greatest exploits of Mahmud. Nagarkot was held in much esteem by the Hindus, both as a sacred place and as a repository of treasures of the powerful potentates of Northern India. His unexpected triumph against heavy odds proved a

The Conquest of Nagarkot

source of great encouragement to his Muslim followers. He pushed on further, seized Nagarkot, appropriated all the treasures, desecrated the temples and returned to Ghazni to display the enormous wealth which he had acquired.

Mahmud in the plains

A successful expedition against Thaneshwar (A.D. 1014), designed to set up the standard of Islam and extirpate idolatry, was followed by the most important of Mahmud's invasions. With large forces at his command Mahmud made up his mind to invade Kanauj, the imperial capital of the Hindus. On his way thither he captured all the forts, converted to Islam the Raja of Bulandshahr, razed to the ground the glorious temples of Mathura, desecrated the pagodas of Kanauj, and terrified into submission Rajyapala, the Parihar Raja of the city (A.D. 1018). He had to return next year to avenge the murder of his ally, Rajyapala who was defeated and killed by the Chandella prince. The Sultan made a successful advance into the Chandella country, defeated the Raja and returned to Ghazni.

The idol breaker

The year 1025 saw Mahmud embarking upon his most famous adventure. Somnath, situated on the sea-shore, and reputed to be a sacred city of the Hindus, was supposed to contain enormous wealth. Mahmud was not proof against such temptation. With a firm determination he left his country, reached Multan and thence came to Ajmer which was mercilessly sacked. He next captured Anhilwara Patan, after which he appeared before Somnath. No amount of supplication or entreaties could shake Mahmud's resolution and in cruel disregard of every earnest request, the sacred *lingam* was broken into pieces and taken to Ghazni to be trodden under foot by the faithful.

His last expedition was undertaken (in A.D. 1027) to punish the Jats who had grown very powerful after the

break-up of the Kingdom of Lahore and molested Mahmud's army on its return journey from Somnath. The Jats were chastised, and Mahmud returned triumphantly to his native country where he died four years later in A.D. 1030.

The last expedition

Mahmud won a series of triumphs in India, but none of them was of a lasting or permanent nature. The idea underlying his expeditions was not to occupy the country, but merely to over-run it for the sake of its wealth. The only tract of land annexed by Mahmud to the Empire was the Panjab, but even there the hold of the Muhammadans was weak and doubtful. The loss of political power in Hindustan was merely temporary, because as soon as Mahmud turned his back the Rajput glory revived with greater lustre, and in time the Hindus recovered the major portion of their lost possessions. But Mahmud's invasions cleared the path for his successors.

Effects of Mahmud's invasions

Mahmud left behind him an extensive empire but no capable successor to govern it. With the exception of one or two of his descendants all of them were mere weaklings, in no way fit to tame their turbulent subjects. The recurring question of succession joined to the degeneracy of the later Ghaznawides, brought about the downfall of the Empire. It was further accelerated by the incursions of the Seljuks from the north-west, and the risings of the intractable Afghan princes in the heart of the country. Bahram, a descendant of Mahmud, picked a quarrel with the Suri chieftains of Ghor, and put to death two of them in cold blood. The murder of his kinsmen was avenged by Alauddin, surnamed 'Jahansoz', who plundered, massacred and burnt Ghazni. The last of the Ghaznawides was Khusrau Malik, who ruled in Lahore till 1186, when he was dispossessed by Muhammad Ghori.

Successors of Mahmud

The Ghoris trace their pedigree to the earliest period of history. Their first ancestor was Amir Faulad Ghori,

but in mediæval ages the first to attract attention was Alauddin. He died in A.D. 1160, and when his son followed him to the grave two years later, his nephew Ghiyasuddin bin Sam succeeded to the principality of Ghor. He fought against the Ghuzz, brought Ghazni under his control, and entrusted it to the charge of Muizuddin, better known in history as Muhammad Ghori. Ruling almost independently from the city of Ghazni, Muhammad early made up his mind to emulate the exploits of his predecessor. Though he lacked military skill, Muhammad's designs were more serious than those of Mahmud. He was opposed to the frittering away of his talents and energy in the acquisition of wealth or the senseless breaking of images. His contribution to the cause of Islam was of a more permanent nature. He wished not only to invade India, but also to found an empire here, and to organize an administration that would be lasting. Herein lies the difference in the aims of Muhammad and Mahmud, the results whereof will be discussed later.

The House of Ghor

His invasions, were undertaken not with any pecuniary object, but to plant the banner of Islam in the soil of Hindustan. Hence we notice more careful preparation and greater statesmanship in the case of Muhammad than in the case of Mahmud. When the former turned his attention towards India his first objective was to make his line of retreat secure before he could think of penetrating into the heart of the country. For this purpose he made up his mind to capture the Muslim provinces of Hindustan. His attempt was a remarkable success. Uchha, Multan and Peshawar were easily captured, but Muhammad could make little headway against the ruler of Anhilwara. Having thus secured the frontier provinces Muhammad now directed his forces against Lahore. It was only after various attempts lasting about five years, from 1181 to 1186, that Muhammad captured the fortress

Invasions of Muhammad

of Sialkot, reduced Lahore, and treacherously imprisoned Khusrau Malik. The occupation of the Panjab brought him into the closest touch with the Hindu powers, and a struggle between the two became imminent.

Muhammad and Prithviraja

The first to oppose the onward march of Muhammad's forces were the Chauhans of Ajmere and Sambhar. Their chieftain, Prithviraja, is known in history as the 'flower of Rajput chivalry'. His name is still held in great esteem by the Hindus of all castes and creeds, and his deeds of bravery are sung in every Hindu household. Valiant, brave and resourceful, Prithviraja was the ablest opponent the Muslims had met in India. The siege and capture of Sirhind by Muhammad was the signal for a deadly conflict between the Muhammadans and the Rajputs. The contending forces were arrayed on the memorable field of Tarain in 1191. The Rajputs charged both wings of the Muslim army with tremendous vigour and scattered them in all directions. Muhammad himself narrowly escaped capture, and the triumph of the Rajputs was complete.

Muhammad sullenly brooded over the defeat and disgrace which he had suffered, and lost no time in completing preparations to recover his lost honour. For the second time the two forces ranged themselves on the field of Tarain, but victory now changed sides. Prithviraja was signally defeated, captured and put to death in A.D. 1192. It is futile to attribute the defeat of the Rajputs to any other cause than the skilful tactics of the experienced Muslim commanders. The defeat of the Rajputs was followed by the occupation of Sarsuti, Samana, Kuhram, Hansi and Ajmere. After this, Muhammad returned to his capital to enjoy a short repose, leaving the affairs of Hindustan in charge of his lieutenant, Qutbuddin Aibek.

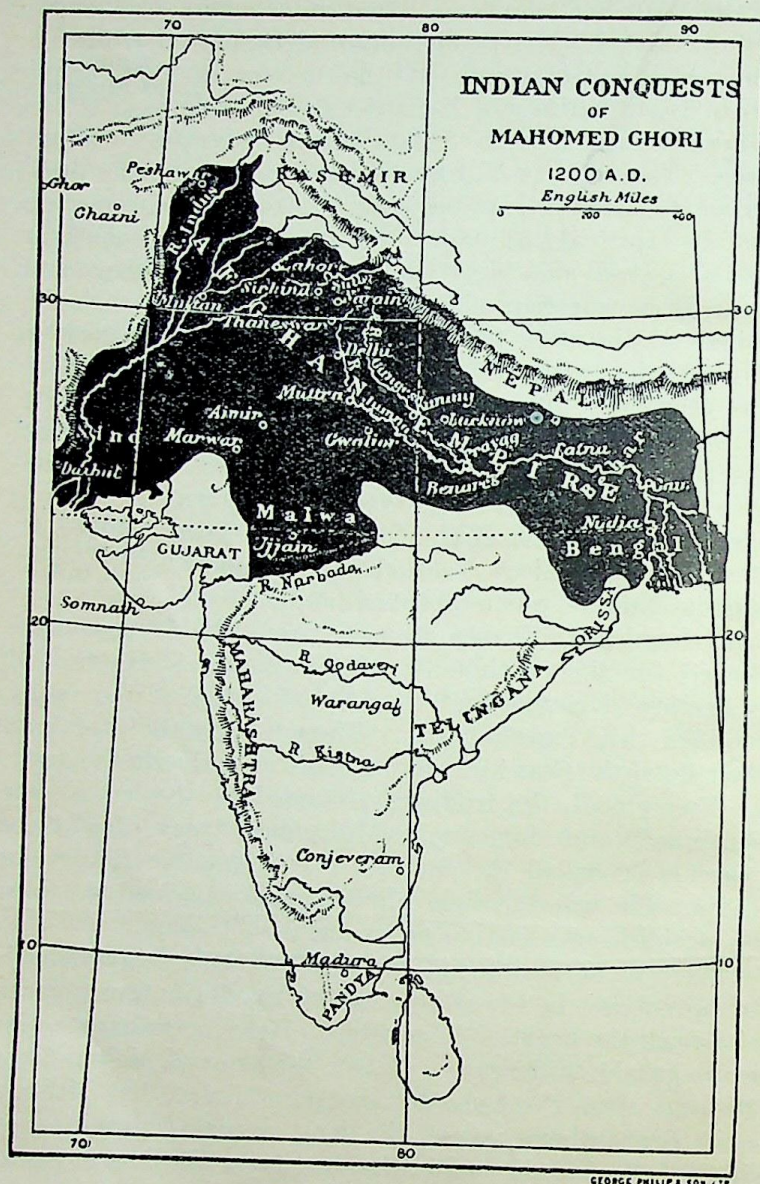
When Prithviraja was defeated and slain, his rival Jayachandra, the Rathor chief of Kanauj, rejoiced at the occurrence, little knowing that a similar fate was in store for himself. Until all the Rajput principalities were sub-

jugated, Muslim sway over Hindustan would be incomplete. So did Muhammad think and rightly too. Within two years of the defeat of Prithviraja, the Raja of Kanauj was defeated and his clansmen were compelled to migrate to other lands. The capture of Kanauj was followed by the desecration of Benares. At the same time, a body of horsemen sent by Qutbuddin, under the command of Bakhtiyar Khilji, sacked and burnt the monasteries of Bihar, and drove Lakshman Sen of Bengal from his capital of Nadia. Shihab-ud-din after the capture of Kanauj returned to Ghazni laden with spoil, where, on his brother's death, he was crowned Sultan. He was assassinated in 1206.

Further victories of Muhammad

The difference between the aims of Muhammad and Mahmud has already been noticed. It now remains to be shown what influence the Ghori invasions exercised over India. The first and foremost effect to be noticed is that a permanent Muslim Empire was established, and Muhammad furnished, during his life-time, all the resources needed for the continuance of this Empire. He trained in the art of government an able body of men, who amply justified his expectations. Though, strictly speaking the rule of the Ghori dynasty came to an end with the death of Muhammad, the traditions founded by the latter were continued and improved. Muhammad may, for these reasons, be called the founder of the Islamic Empire in India. He was the first Muslim who conceived the idea of establishing a lasting government in India.

Ghori Invasions and India

The second prominent effect of the Ghori invasions is to be noticed in the effacement of the Rajput principalities from the heart of Hindustan. Here too we may notice a remarkable difference. Before the arms of Mahmud the Rajputs were overcome but not annihilated, but Muhammad drove them out of the most valuable provinces of India. No longer could Chauhans and Rathors boast of their undisputed suzerainty in Hindustan.

The third important result was that Northern India, or Hindustan proper, was for the time being freed from the constant strife and mutual bickerings of the small petty independent states. It was ruled by a single authority and it was now possible to organize a systematic and uniform type of administration. This does not mean that all opposition was dead in Northern India. On the other hand the oft-recurring Hindu rebellions conclusively prove that there was no love lost between the rulers and the ruled.

Alberuni

The name of Alberuni stands supreme as an authority on the manners and customs of Indians as noticed by early Mussalmans. He was a native of Khiva and he came to India in the train of Mahmud. He lived here for a number of years and personally acquainted himself with the conditions and men of this country. His voluminous work is a mine of information on the state of Hindu civilization in the eleventh century. It has been translated into English and is most valuable for the study of the period. Alberuni was a great scholar, and a shrewd and keen observer.

MUSLIM INVASIONS OF INDIA

Date	Events
A.D.	
570 ..	Birth of Muhammad.
622 ..	Flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina; the Hijrat; the beginning of the Muhammadan calendar.
June 8, 632 ..	Death of Muhammad.
641 ..	The Arabs conquered Egypt.
711 ..	Arab conquest of Sind.
870 ..	Occupation of Kabul, by Yākub-i-Lais.
986–87 ..	First raid of Amir Sabuktagin into Indian territory.
991 ..	Disastrous defeat of Jayapala of the Panjab in Kurram Valley by Sabuktagin.
997 ..	Death of Sabuktagin and accession of Mahmud of Ghazni.
1001 ..	Mahmud of Ghazni defeats Jayapala (First expedition of Mahmud of Ghazni).
1008–9 ..	Mahmud defeated Anandapala, son of Jayapala (Sixth expedition).
1009 ..	Conquest of Nagarkot.
1019 ..	Mahmud invaded Kanauj.
1020 ..	Mahmud invaded the Chandella territory.
1025 ..	Expedition against Somnath.
1026 ..	Expedition against the Jats of the Salt range.
1030 ..	Death of Mahmud.
1031–1152	Successors of Mahmud.
1150 ..	Sack of Ghazni by Alauddin Hussain, Prince of Ghor surnamed Jahansoz.
1173 ..	Ghazni annexed by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din of Ghor.
1175–76 ..	Muhammad's attack on Multan and occupation of Uchha.
1191 ..	First Battle of Tarain.
1192 ..	Second Battle of Tarain; defeat and death of Prithvi Raj Chauhan.
1193 ..	Occupation of Delhi by Qutbuddin.
1197 ..	Anhilwara, the capital of Gujrat occupied.
1197 ..	Muhammad Khilji's conquest of Bihar.
1199 ..	Muhammad Khilji's conquest of Bengal.
1206 ..	Death of Muhammad Ghori.

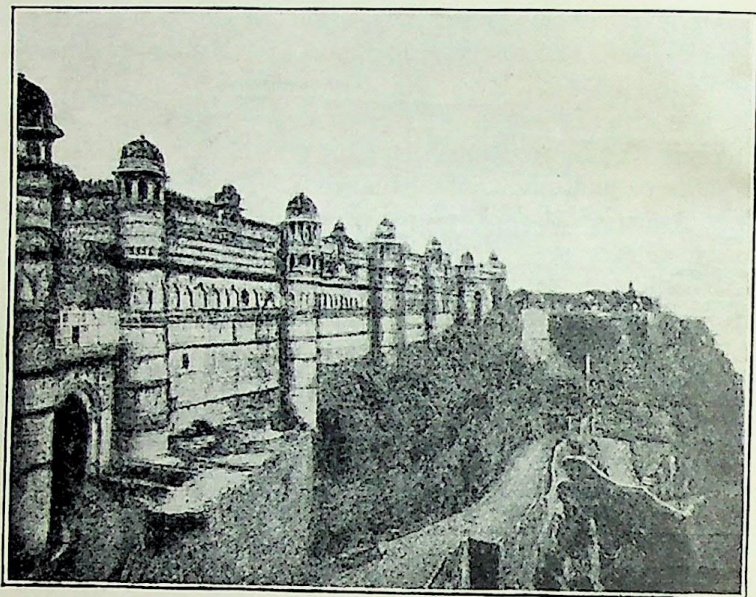
CHAPTER II

Establishment of the Sultanate

The first serious Muslim invasion of India occurred in A.D. 997, and the Islamic Empire was not firmly established before A.D. 1206. Why was the progress of Islamic arms so slow? The record of Muslim successes against their opponents in India is a series of brilliant and phenomenal victories. The causes of their rapid success have been adduced by many a historian. It is attributed on the one hand to the internecine strife of the Rajput princes, to their clannish pride, to the lack of cohesion amongst them, to the absence of religious zeal among the people of the Panjab, and on the other, to the prevalence of strict and severe discipline among the Muslim invaders, to their unity of policy and leadership, and lastly to their religious zeal and enthusiasm. In spite of so many clear advantages it is surprising that it took full two centuries for the Muslims to establish an Empire in India which could be regarded as permanent, stable and secure.

Slow growth of the Islamic Empire

The first and foremost reason is to be traced in the ambitions of the first invaders. Mahmud, it has already been shown, entertained no idea of founding an empire in India. His ambitions were centred in the West rather than in the East. The invasions were a means to an end. The wealth acquired thereby was utilized to promote his designs in the West. In the next place, little progress could be made in the East during the rule of his weak successors. It was difficult for them to save their own possessions. Who was to expand them? Thirdly, the advance of the Muslims was bravely and stubbornly resisted by the Hindus. The excesses committed by some

of the invaders alienated the Hindus, and the latter missed no opportunity to overthrow their power. Lastly, the existence of numerous Rajput States, though in a way advantageous to the invaders, acted as a most effective check to their rapid advance. The Rajputs valiantly contested every inch of ground, and their dogged courage won the

THE FORT, GWALIOR

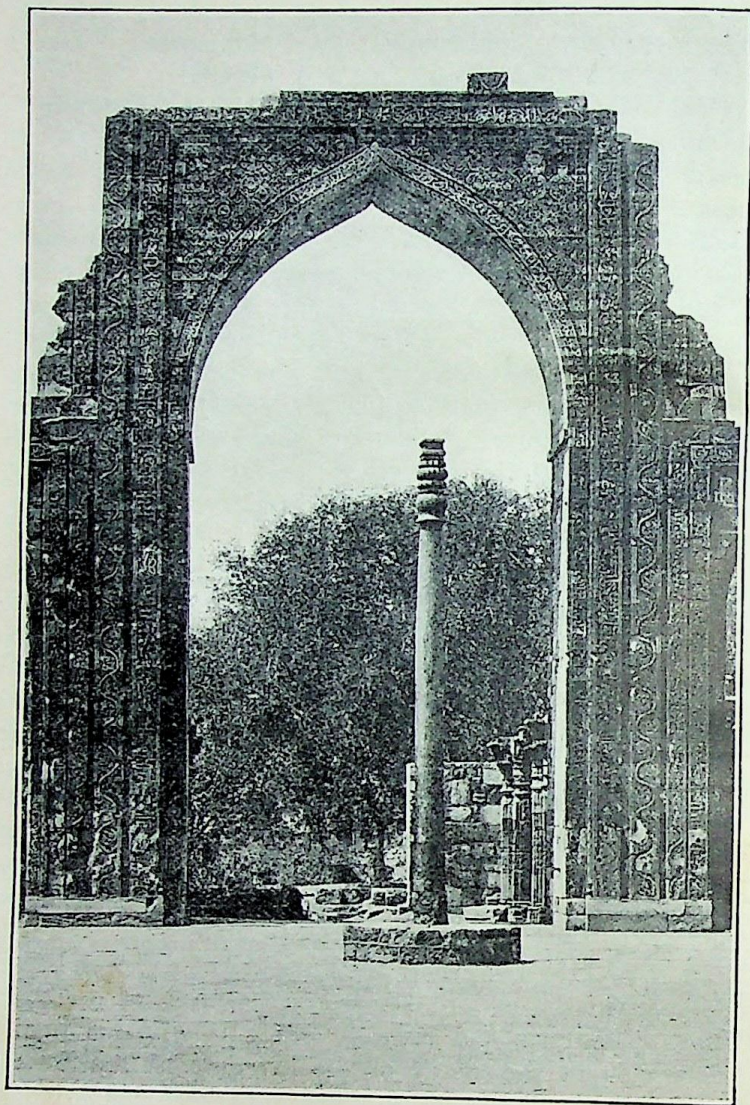
admiration even of their inveterate enemies. When, however, after the lapse of two centuries, a permanent footing was established by Muhammad, its progress and expansion was unusually rapid. In this process of expansion, his viceroy and successor Qutbuddin Aibek took a leading part.

Aibek was a slave. He was purchased by the Qazi of Nishapur who imparted to him valuable and efficient training. He became adept in horsemanship and archery, and

acquired a reputation for courage and manly bearing. He was then purchased by Muhammad Ghori to whom he rendered faithful and devoted service. His master reposed great confidence in him, and after the second battle of Tarain appointed him Viceroy of his Indian possessions. In this capacity Qutbuddin gave proofs of his unique merits. He could rightly appreciate the aims and ambitions of his master, and spared no pains to realize his policy. Right and left of Delhi Aibek left no place unconquered. After Tarain he captured Hansi, Meerut, Delhi, Ranthambhor and Kol; after Kanauj, he captured Benares and reduced Gwalior. In 1197 he defeated the chief of Anhilwara and ravaged his territories, and in 1202 overpowered the Hindus of Kalinjar, occupied Mahoba, and returned to Delhi by way of Badaun, which was also subdued.

Qutbuddin Aibek

While Qutbuddin was winning these victories in the heart of Hindustan, his lieutenant, Bakhtiyar Khilji, proceeded farther east and conquered Bihar and Bengal. His exploits in these regions are full of romance and adventure. At the head of a small detachment of 200 horsemen Bakhtiyar led an organized attack against the province of Bihar in 1197. He captured the fortress and immense booty fell into his hands. The Buddhist monks were massacred, their books seized and scattered and their monastery demolished. The subjugation of Bihar was followed by the conquest of Bengal, which was at this time ruled by a weak and aged Raja Lakhmaniah. Towards the close of 1199 Bakhtiyar with a party of eighteen horsemen reached the city of Nadia, the capital of the Sen Kings. The Raja fled towards Dacca leaving his wealth and women at the mercy of the invaders. Thus Bengal passed into the hands of Muslims, and the subjugation of Northern India was completed.

Practically all the important achievements of Aibek happened during the period of his viceroyalty. After the

THE GREAT ARCH AND IRON PILLAR, QUTUBI MOSQUE, DELHI

death of Muhammad he became the lord of Hindustan, though it is doubtful whether he proclaimed his independence. He quelled the opposition of his rivals and planted his foothold firmly. Aibek as a ruler is known to have been just and merciful. His generosity won him the title of Lakhbakhsha, or giver of lakhs. He was a high-spirited, sagacious and brave monarch. He always maintained a high character, and gave proof of his religious zeal by building two mosques, one at Delhi and the other at Ajmere. He died in 1210 from a fall from his horse, leaving a powerful kingdom to his successors.

Aibek, the first Slave Ruler

The death of Aibek was followed by a brief period of confusion lasting for about a year. The recurrence of such intervals of disorder is a marked feature of the history of this period. Its main cause was the appearance of weak, incapable and imbecile rulers; the unsettled law of succession was also responsible for conflicts between rival claimants. The consequences of these civil wars were disastrous to the strength of the state.

Extension and Consolidation

Aibek was succeeded by his worthless son Aram. As a ruler he could not be tolerated in that age, and so, after a brief reign of one year, during which he exercised an imperfect sway over the dominions of his father, he was defeated and dethroned by the more capable Iltutmish.

The new ruler like his predecessor was also a slave. He was descended from a noble family of Turks, was purchased by Aibek, and rose to prominence by sheer dint of merit.

Like his master he had also experience of all grades of administration and his rule is epoch-making in the history of the Slave Dynasty. He may be called the real founder of the Muslim Empire in India. He was the first to proclaim his independence.

Accession of Iltutmish

When Iltutmish came to the throne he did not find it a bed of roses, and he had to make great efforts before

he could make himself secure in his possessions. His authority was not recognized by his rivals, Yaldoz of Ghazni, Qubaicha of Sind, and the Khiljis of Bengal. But Iltutmish was not the man to fail or falter in the face of difficulties, however serious. Yaldoz was defeated, captured and put to death in 1215, and Qubaicha met a similar fate in 1227. Iltutmish conquered Bengal in 1225 and subdued the Khiljis. He stormed Ranthambhor in 1226, and recovered Gwalior in 1232. His authority as an independent ruler was recognized by the Khalifa, who sent him a patent of investiture in 1228. The only other event of importance in the reign of Iltutmish was the invasion of the Mongols under Chingiz Khan in 1221. Fortunately for India they did not enter the country, but retired after ravaging the frontier provinces. This was the beginning of a series of incursions which became serious and formidable in the reign of Alauddin Khilji.

Judged from every standard Iltutmish ranks as one of the greatest kings of the Sultanate period. He consolidated the conquests of his master, and organized his administration on a systematic plan. He gave positions of rank and honour to his slaves, and was the founder of the 'Corps of Forty Slaves', a body which remained supreme till the rise of Balban. Though always busy with military campaigns Iltutmish extended his patronage to the pious and learned. He was a great builder, and the Qutb Minar still stands as a worthy memorial of his greatness. He died in 1235.

A period of Disorder

The death of Iltutmish was followed by a long drawn-out struggle between rival parties to obtain power and supremacy at court. The 'Corps of Forty', though organized with the best of intentions, and meant to be the mainstay of the Empire, brought ruin and disorder. It made and unmade kings. But the greatest misfortune was that Iltutmish left no capable successor who could maintain

the wise traditions and the integrity of the Empire. His sons were weaklings, and were totally ignorant of the art of government, and when placed in a position of power sank to the lowest depths of degradation, and left the covetous nobles to gratify their own ambitions.

Ruknuddin Firoz Shah, the immediate successor of Iltutmish, was unfit to rule. He was a notorious debauchee, addicted to the grossest sensual pleasures. His mad generosity and cruel disposition exasperated the nobles and they dethroned him after a brief reign of seven months. He was replaced by Raziya, his sister, a wise and capable lady and the ablest of all the claimants. She was wise, just, generous and brave. By her courage and diplomacy she soon put down the rebellious nobles and established order throughout the kingdom. But her sex was her disqualification. Her presence was intolerable to the orthodox Mussalman Amirs. Though she tried her best to play the part of a man, it was impossible to satisfy the religious susceptibilities of the nobles. Her indiscretion in showing preference to an Abyssinian slave was made an occasion by her enemies for a general revolt, which overwhelmed her. She was captured and put to death in 1240.

Restoration of Order

For the next five years after the death of Raziya, confusion and chaos reigned in India. Her successors Bahram and Masud were unable to achieve anything whatsoever. They were merely toys in the hands of successful nobles, and the brief reigns are a record of misery and decadence. When Nasirudin Mahmud ascended the throne of Delhi in 1246, people began to hope for better things. Nasiruddin was a God-fearing and compassionate ruler, who patronized the learned and sympathized with the poor and distressed. His rule was marked by mildness and generosity; but had it not been for the presence of a capable minister in the person of

Ghiyasuddin Balban he would have met the same fate as his brothers and sister.

Height of the Slave Glory

Balban was the greatest king of the Slave Dynasty. He typified all the qualities of a successful career. He was a Turk of the same tribe as Iltutmish. He was captured by the Mongols, while quite young, taken to Baghdad and sold to one Jamaluddin of Basra. He was kindly treated by his master, who took him to Delhi, where he was purchased by Shamsuddin Iltutmish. He passed his period of training under the successive rulers of the Slave Dynasty and by his initiative and courage attained to the highest rank in the Empire. He was appointed

A GOLD COIN OF BALBAN, SULTAN OF DELHI, STRUCK AT DELHI
From Allen's 'Narrative of Indian History.' By permission.

principal minister of State in A.D. 1246 by Nasiruddin Mahmud. He discharged his duties with care and devotion and saved the empire from early annihilation. He chastised the refractory Hindu Rajas of the Doab and ravaged Mewat and Ranthambhor. He undertook expeditions to Gwalior, Chanderi and Malwa which were all subdued.

Thus Balban was in every way fitted to step into the throne that had been left vacant in 1266 by the death of Nasiruddin. As an independent king his administration

was vigorous and effective. By means of drastic punishments and relentless measures he suppressed the elements of disorder. He ruthlessly chastised the Mewatis by clearing the forests in the neighbourhood of Delhi, suppressed the 'Corps of Forty Slaves' and brought Bengal under the sphere of his own jurisdiction by punishing Tughril the rebel in A.D. 1279. The only distant expedition which Balban undertook was to Bengal, but the greatest achievement of the Sultan was his success in stopping the Mongol invasions. For this purpose he trained his army to the highest pitch of efficiency, improved and equipped the forts and thoroughly organized the administration of the frontier regions. The last years of the Sultan's life were clouded by mental anguish owing to the death of his eldest son and heir-apparent, Prince Muhammad, in 1285, and the grief-stricken Balban breathed his last a year later in 1286.

In the early history of the Islamic Empire in India Balban's personality stands unique. His achievements in the realm of mediæval politics were brilliant. He controlled an extensive empire by a policy of 'blood and iron.' He knew what oriental despotism meant, and accorded his practice with its canons. He despised the company of the low and the vulgar, and loved pomp and magnificence. In his private life he was passionate and tender-hearted, but he could, on occasions, be terribly cruel. Under him the glory of the Slave Dynasty—so called because all its greatest rulers were slaves—reached its zenith, and with his death it met its fall. Balban was a great patron of learning, and Amir Khusrau the great poet lived and flourished at his court.

Reaction

Balban's death was followed by the downfall of the Slave Dynasty. His grandson Kaiqubad was unfit to cope with the situation, and the usual rivalry of the nobles, and their scramble for power are the main features of Kaiqubad's reign. The young

Sultan spent all his time on senseless and frivolous enjoyments, and the Empire changed hands. He was murdered by a Khilji Malik in A.D. 1290.

A rough survey

Let us make a rough survey of the achievements of the thirteenth century. The Muslim Empire had become, by this time, firmly established in Northern India. There were apparent exchanges of ideas between the rulers and the ruled, and we catch a glimpse of the mutual influence of the cultures of Islam and Hinduism. The Muslim Empire in India became strong, and was well administered. It gained recognition in foreign courts, and the rulers of Central Asia coveted the help of Delhi Sultans against their rivals.

The Mongols

By far the most important event in the history of Central Asia is the rise of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. They were a ferocious race of men, with a supreme indifference for human life; they cared nothing for their plighted word, and were ready to perpetrate the most horrible atrocities with or without provocation. They rose to power under their leader Timujin, surnamed Chingiz Khan. With lightning speed this born leader of men overran China, plundered and ravaged Balkh, Bokhara and Samarkand, and then came down upon the Sultan of Khiva. Jalauddin fled towards Hindustan, whither he was pursued by the invaders. He encamped on the Indus and requested the help of Iltutmish against the Mongols, but the latter was too prudent to court disaster at the hands of infidels, and refused to accede to the proposals. The fugitive prince of Khiva was defeated and the Mongols retired.

Twenty years later in 1241 the Mongols for the first time entered the plains of Hindustan and captured and ravaged Lahore. Nothing could be done by any ruler at this time to check their progress, but when in 1245 they advanced upon Uchha they were repelled with heavy losses. In the reigns of Nasiruddin Mahmud and Balban measures were taken to prevent their incursions into India. The

reforms of Balban succeeded for the time being, but after his death we find a revival of the Mongol invasions which continued up to A.D. 1303.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SULTANATE

Date	Events
A.D.	
1206 ..	Qutub-ud-din Aibek's elevation to the throne of Delhi.
1210 ..	His death.
1210 ..	Accession of Iltutmush.
1221 ..	Invasion of Mongols under Chingiz Khan.
1235 ..	Death of Iltutmish.
1236 ..	Accession of Prince Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah.
1236 ..	Accession of Sultana Raziya.
1240 ..	Capture and death of Raziya.
1241 ..	Accession of Alauddin Masud Shah; Mongol raid and capture of Lahore.
1245 ..	Mongol advance upon Uchha and their repulse with heavy loss by Balban.
1246 ..	Accession of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.
1266 ..	Accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban as king.
1279 ..	Tughril's rebellion in Bengal.
1285 ..	Invasion of the Punjab by the Mongols.
1286 ..	Death of Balban; accession of Muiz-ud-din Kaiqubad.
1290 ..	Murder of Kaiqubad by a Khilji Malik; end of the dynasty.

CHAPTER III

An Era of Glorious Achievements

Rise of the Khiljis

It has been noted in the previous chapter that after the death of Balban a struggle took place between the rival factions at Delhi to obtain supreme power. When an attempt was made by Nizamuddin, the court-favourite and the son-in-law of the Kotwal of Delhi, to get rid of the Khiljis, who had acquired considerable power and influence in the state, the latter formed their own party under the leadership of Jalaluddin Firoz. His power increased and he was joined by several Turkish Amirs and Maliks, and with their help and connivance he brought about the murder of Kaiqubad. The throne of Delhi now passed into the hands of the Khilji Turks, and the soldiers and the citizens of Delhi all made allegiance to the new Sultan Jalaluddin.

Jalaluddin and his Ancestors

Who the Khiljis were is an undecided question. Whether they were Turks or Afghans has not been conclusively proved. The latest view is a compromise between the two, that is, that they were Turks who had settled in the Afghan country. There is no doubt that the Khiljis had performed valiant deeds during the Slave regime. The exploits of Bakhtiyar and Ali Mardan are well known in Indian history, and it was their deeds of bravery which earned the Khiljis the rank and position of nobility in the court of Balban and his ancestors. When the opportunity came they made themselves masters of the throne and the Empire.

The first king of the new dynasty was Jalaluddin. Lacking in vigour and tenacity, the new Sultan was not equipped with the necessary qualifications of kingship in

the mediæval ages. His frugality and simplicity exasperated his followers, and his kindly disposition, which made him averse to even punishing criminals, caused widespread dissatisfaction. He is known to have been stern only once, when he punished Sidi Maula, a dervish who was charged with treason by his enemies. He pardoned Malik Chajju, a nephew of Balban, who raised the standard of rebellion with the object of recovering the throne. The old sultan conducted an unsuccessful expedition against Ranthambhor, but bravely defeated and repelled the Mongols who invaded India under their leader Halaku. He was deeply attached to his nephew and son-in-law Alauddin whom he loved dearly. But the latter was cruel and ambitious, and on his return from the expedition to Devagiri treacherously murdered his uncle and seated himself upon the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1295.

Character of Alauddin

The new Sultan was brave and adventurous. No obstacle, however great, was allowed to stand in the way of his obstinate resolve, and no difficulty, however complicated, got the better of his resourceful imagination. Though unlettered in the strict sense of the term he was eminently practical. He knew how to deal with men, and could understand and analyse their motives. He was not a slave either to religion or custom, and was ready to abjure them if it would serve his purpose. He was fired by an ambition to possess a wide and extensive empire and an extremely rich treasury. To achieve this end he was ready to strain every nerve. Very early in his reign he once thought of going out of India and playing the role of Alexander, as also that of the Prophet. When the difficulties of the situation had been explained to him he gave up the intention, and seriously busied himself with making his position secure inside the country.

When Alauddin came to the throne he found himself confronted with serious difficulties, all of them mainly

political. The first problem which taxed his ingenuity was how to make the monarchy stable. The Delhi Sultanate was at this time assailed by numerous dangers, both external and internal, and the cumulative effect of the two was to undermine the integrity of the state. The external danger came from the north-west. The Mongols were ever knocking at the doors of Delhi, and trying to overwhelm and annihilate the power of the Sultan. Their five incursions between 1296 and 1304 and the weakness of the government had greatly lowered the prestige of the monarchy in the eyes of the natives. The external danger was further complicated by the immense power wielded by the nobility. The barons of the realm were ever ready to break out against the lawfully established authority and the only restraining influence was the personality of the Sultan. In addition to this the refractory character of the native population was a factor to be reckoned with. The power of the Hindus had been reduced but not shattered, and they missed no opportunity of trying to recover their lost greatness. Their recurring rebellions exasperated Alauddin, and he set himself seriously to meet the evil. The success of Alauddin's administration may be judged from the extent to which he imparted peace and tranquillity to his realm.

Difficulties of Alauddin

Alauddin's reforms were based on the needs of the moment, and were modelled with reference to the 'spirit of the times'. It was an age of military despotism, and so long as Alauddin did not possess a large and efficient army success was hard to contemplate. So Alauddin began to reform the army. He increased its strength and placed able and well-tried generals in charge of it. The pay of a soldier was fixed at 234 *tankahs* a year. Then in order to make it possible for his soldiers to live on their pay, he decided to regulate prices so as to cheapen the necessaries of life. A tariff list was prepared, which fixed the prices of all

Alauddin's Reforms

commodities required for daily use. Grain was to be conserved in royal granaries, and in the Khalsa villages of the Doab the revenue was to be realized not in cash but in kind. The market was superintended by two officers, the Diwan-i-Riyasat and the Shahna-i-Mandi who punished sternly all persons who were guilty of selling at prices other than those which had been fixed. Thus Alauddin was able to maintain a large army at a reasonable cost, and at the highest pitch of efficiency; and with its help he satisfied his ambitions of conquest and kingship.

Consolidation of the Empire

The occurrence of several formidable rebellions in the early years of the reign led Alauddin to consider seriously their causes. These were due to the king's disregard of the affairs of the nation, wine-drinking, friendship and social intercourse of the nobles, and the superfluity of wealth among the natives. When once he was convinced of the truth of these causes he confiscated the property of the nobles, organized a regular system of espionage, and prohibited wine-drinking and social intercourse among them. Next he turned his attention to the natives, taxed them to the utmost limits, forbade all sorts of luxuries and curbed them by every possible means.

Against the Mongols Alauddin was relentless. He caused them all to be massacred at Lahore, properly guarded his frontier by building new forts, and placed the important outposts in the hands of capable officers.

Growth of the Empire

Alauddin was conscious of the need to extend his empire to the farthest limits, and to achieve this end every material aid was taken advantage of. There was no dearth of men or money, and the Sultan personally supplied the inspiration and the ambition. Alauddin thus made his position secure in the North. The first objective to attract his attention was the fortress of Ranthambhor, the stronghold of Hindu power. Many times had it fallen into the hands of the early Sultans of Delhi, such as Iltutmish and

Balban, and as many times had it been lost again. In 1299 Alauddin sent a large army under his two leading generals to capture the impregnable fortress, but the brave Rana Hammir defeated them and put them to flight. In the end the Sultan went himself to supervise the siege, but his efforts were foiled by two very serious rebellions in the North. Nothing, however, could shake his resolution, and ultimately Ranthambhor fell, and Rana Hammir and his family were put to death in 1301.

The capture of Ranthambhor emboldened the Sultan to make further attempts in Rajputana, because it was the centre of Hindu power, and its subjugation was a necessary preliminary to the success of his future schemes. In 1303 he directed his forces against Mewar, the premier Rajput state. The possession of the hill fortress of Chitor and the probable capture of the beautiful Padmini increased the zeal of the invader. The Sultan treacherously captured Rana Ratansingh who was rescued by his devoted wife Padmini. This was followed by a deadly fight between the Rajputs and Mussalmans in which the latter were victorious. Chitor fell into the hands of Alauddin. During the next two years Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar and Chanderi were also conquered, and he became the undisputed ruler of Northern India.

Alauddin and the Deccan

But more famous than all this are Alauddin's exploits in the Deccan. He was the first Mussalman king who crossed the Vindhyas and attempted conquest in an unknown region. As early as 1294, in the reign of his uncle, Alauddin, at the head of a large force, had penetrated into the Deccan and surprised the Yadava Raja of Maharashtra. He laid siege to Devagiri, and compelled Ram Chandra to pay a huge war indemnity. The unexploited wealth of the Deccan made a deep impression upon the mind of the Sultan, and from this time onward he cherished the ambition of conquering it to the furthermost point. Events in Northern India, however, kept him busy, but when once

he had consolidated his position there he turned his attention to the South.

Luckily Alauddin had in the person of Malik Kafur a competent and zealous general, who could faithfully accomplish the grand designs of his master. Kafur was a converted eunuch. He belonged to Gujarat, and during one of the imperial expeditions the lad had fallen into the hands of a victorious general. He early attracted the attention of the Sultan, whose confidence he gained rapidly. Ultimately Kafur was appointed commander-in-chief of the Khilji army, and gave proof of his extraordinary talents in the fields of the Deccan. Kafur was a man of resolution and enterprise, ready to sacrifice himself for his master. This devotion took an evil turn in the later years of Alauddin's reign when Kafur finding himself all-powerful, and realizing the waning energy of his master, broke out into excesses. However, during the greater part of the reign he remained loyal.

The political condition of the Deccan on the eve of Alauddin's invasions deserves notice. It was divided into four great principalities, whose mutual warfare was rivalled only by the struggle of the Rajputs in Northern India during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the extreme north, contiguous to the Vindhyas and covering the modern Maharashtra, was the kingdom of the Yadavas with its capital at Devagiri. Next to it were the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra, and finally came the Pandyas. All of them were attacked and subjugated, but their territories were not permanently annexed to the Khilji Empire.

Alauddin's first expedition to the Deccan in 1294 in the lifetime of his uncle has already been noted. Raja Ram Chandra paid a huge indemnity, and agreed to recognize the sovereignty of Delhi. Later he gave protection to the fugitive chieftain of Gujarat, whose daughter Deval Devi was forcibly demanded by Alauddin. It was in pursuit of these fugitives that Kafur and his army had to

fight against the Yadavas. The latter were defeated and the Raja and his son were taken as prisoners to Delhi, where they were treated generously, and their possessions were restored. So long as Ram Chandra lived he never thought of severing his allegiance to Delhi, but his successor Shankar Deo ceased to pay the customary tribute. Kafur was sent in 1312 at the head of a large army and the Yadava country was ravaged.

After the conquest of Devagiri the next to meet the wrath of the invaders were the Kakatiyas of Warangal. Their Raja, Pratap Rudra Deo, was attacked and compelled to pay a huge subsidy in A.D. 1308. Next year Kafur descended upon the Hoysala dominions, inflicted a crushing defeat upon its ruler, Vir Ballala, and forced him to pay a large indemnity. After that he plundered Srirangam and Madura.

Alauddin's Greatness

The year 1313 saw the climax of Alauddin's greatness. The whole country from Lahore to Dwarasamudra lay at his feet, and the triumph of Muslim arms was complete. Alauddin had succeeded beyond expectations. The danger of the Mongols had disappeared, the power of the nobility had been crushed, the Hindus had become meek and submissive, the army was living comfortably and the Empire had attained its farthest limits. What more could a monarch accomplish? The Sultan's greatness consists in his conquests and originality. He was the first Muslim ruler of India who considered religion as a hand-maid to his political ambitions. He was never dominated by the counsel or advice of religious men, and used to say, 'I do not know what is lawful, or unlawful. I do what I consider to be just and beneficial to the State.'

Reaction

But Alauddin's greatness was not lasting. His triumphs were short lived. He introduced a system which was totally unworkable. His financial reforms were based on wrong ideas. The Sultan was the pivot round which the governmental machinery revolv-

ed, and when he was gone, the government fell like a house of cards. A reaction had set in, in the very life-time of Alauddin. The nobles, the Hindu Rajas and even the Muslims could not long be kept under the rule of an iron hand. Over-centralization, repression and espionage, all undermined the imperial authority. The policy of raising base-born men to a position of honour was bearing its fruits. As the Sultan advanced in years they fomented quarrels in his household. Kafur was the leader of such intrigues. He held the Sultan in his grip, and the end was now drawing near. Alauddin suffered from a mortal disease, and breathed his last in 1316, after nominating his minor son to the throne, with Kafur as his regent.

The later Khiljis

The death of a powerful Sultan like Alauddin created a void which it was impossible to fill. All of a sudden strife began to raise its head in the extensive Muslim Empire. There was a keen rivalry for power among the nobles. Every one of them wished to win over the army to his side but for the time being Kafur was supreme. He removed his rivals one by one. All the princes of the blood were either killed or blinded. Only Mubarak Khan, who afterwards became king, escaped this tragic fate. Tried veterans were removed from office, and their places were filled by low-born men who depended upon Kafur for favour and promotion to high office. This policy caused a general dissatisfaction among the representatives of the old order, who became alarmed for their own safety. A conspiracy was formed, and Malik Kafur, together with his confederates, was put to death in A.D. 1316.

The next ruler was Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, who began his reign with commendable energy and ability. He released the political prisoners, restored the confiscated lands and abolished the trade regulations of Alauddin. He led an expedition against Harpal Deo of Devagiri, captured him and had him flayed alive on a charge of rebellion. Peace and tranquillity began to reign in the

Empire, but the feeling of security acted otherwise upon the Sultan. He abandoned himself to pleasures of the basest nature, and showered his favours upon one Khusrau a parvenu convert. Khusrau acquired the same influence over Mubarak as Kafur had over Alauddin. The entire government was now full of pariahs, and they conspired to bring about the death of the Sultan. A plan was matured, Khusrau put his master to death and ascended the throne in 1320 under the title of Nasiruddin. The reign of Khusrau was a hideous reign of terror. His object was the revival of a Hindu dynasty. Islam was treated with contempt; the Quran was abused and idols were set up in mosques. But this rule could not last long. Ghazi Malik organized a confederacy of the nobles, and proceeded against Khusrau, who fled from the field of battle, and was captured and beheaded in 1320. Thus the Khilji Dynasty met the same end as the Slave Dynasty.

Origin and the Rise of the Tughluqs

As in the case of the Khiljis, the origin of their successors, the Tughluqs, is also an unascertained fact of Indian history. The accepted view at the present time is that the Tughluqs of India were the descendants of a Turkish slave of Sultan Balban from a Jat woman of the Punjab. It is curious to note that all the dynasties that ruled India between 1206 and 1526 are called Pathan. This is obviously a misnomer. Only a few of them were Afghans or Pathans, the others were Turks, either pure or mixed.

So far as the Tughluqs are concerned we only know that they were living in India from the time of the Slaves. What part they played during the two reigns has not been brought to light. Suffice it to say that during Alauddin's rule Ghazi Malik served as warden of the western marches, and that his son Fakhruddin Jauna Khan was counted among the nobles of the court at Delhi.

Ghazi Malik was the one man who could restore order in the crumbling and vanishing Khilji Empire, and after

the discomfiture and death of the pariah Khusrau, all the nobles requested him to ascend the throne and manage the affairs of government. The Malik reluctantly consented to abide by the decision of his compatriots and assumed the style of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. The early life of the new Sultan was full of strenuous activity. A man of humble origin, the son of a Qaraunah Turk and a Jat woman, Ghazi, by dint of personal merit, rose to occupy the most responsible post in the Khilji Empire. He played an important part in the wars against the Mongols, whom he had driven out of India again and again. When he assumed the sceptre of sovereignty, he spared no pains to justify the confidence of his fellow brethren. He treated the relatives of Alauddin generously, made suitable provision for them and appointed them to high offices in the state. The two expeditions which were undertaken in his reign were one to Warangal and the other to Bengal. During the reign of Mubarak, the Raja of Warangal had become very powerful and extended his territories. The crown-prince Jauna Khan was sent in 1323 to suppress him. He succeeded in the task, defeated and captured the Kakatiya Raja and annexed his territories. The next expedition was sent to Bengal and was led personally by Ghiyas. He returned victorious, and on the way met his death by the fall of a pavilion which had been erected at Afghanpur by Jauna Khan to welcome his father in 1325.

The administration of Ghiyasuddin deserves to be remembered. It was both just and moderate. The land-revenue was organized, and the state demand was fixed at one-tenth or one-eleventh of the gross produce. The assessment was made after a correct estimate and valuation of crops. The departments of Police and Justice were overhauled, and made efficient. Ghiyas trained his army well, and organized it thoroughly. In short, he held tight the reins of administration in his hands and his one aim was to promote the welfare of his subjects.

Ghiyasuddin was succeeded by the crown prince Jauna Khan, who assumed the style of Muhammad Tughluq. The character of this 'prince of idealists' has been much maligned by writers, both modern and mediæval. They ascribe to him unique virtues, and yet they call him mad. Recent research, however, has clearly brought out the fact that the latter verdict is entirely due to the biassed account of the contemporary historian, Ziauddin Barni. Muhammad was undoubtedly the most learned and accomplished prince of his time. He possessed a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect, and a great capacity for making himself proficient in knowledge of all kinds. He was a lover of fine arts, a cultured scholar, an accomplished poet, and well-versed in logic, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, medicine and other physical sciences. He was master of several languages. But all this learning did not make him a lover of solitude. He loved the society of the talented and the wise. His prodigal generosity attracted to his court men from distant lands. The greatest fault in his character was his extreme originality. He wanted everybody to act and think as he did, and when they refused, he punished them ruthlessly. He has therefore been called mad by the historians. This is unjust, as many of his schemes were beneficial and practical. Sometimes nature, sometimes circumstances, failed him in the accomplishment of his designs, but his earnestness and zeal were unquestionable.

Muhammad Tughluq

Well-versed as the Sultan was in all branches of learning, he attempted to introduce a new spirit into the system of administration. For this purpose he made several experiments, but unfortunately all of them failed. He increased taxation in the Doab. That he was justified in adopting this course, is undoubted. The Doab was the richest part of his empire, and was inhabited by turbulent races who

Administrative Experiments

set all authority at defiance and it was only right to make them pay for the expenses of the government. The increase in taxation was followed by a severe famine, and though the Sultan immediately put useful measures into operation, their purpose was defeated by greedy officers who continued to fleece the subjects. Muhammad was exasperated and sternly punished the miscreants.

The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri in 1326–27 was another such experiment. The Empire had spread far to the south, and it was necessary for the maintenance of efficient control to have a capital in a central position. Devagiri, surnamed Daulatabad, fulfilled all these requirements, and the Sultan transferred his capital thither. Not satisfied with the transfer of state departments, he even compelled the inhabitants of Delhi to go there. He provided them with every means of comfort on the way, but the pain of separation from home was too much for them to bear and many of them died. The Sultan changed his mind and asked the suffering inhabitants to go back; and he recompensed them generously. Some people have called it a mad scheme. This is unfair, as the Sultan wanted by this means to make his government efficient.

The introduction of token currency in 1330 was neither a visionary nor a mad scheme. Muhammad has been called a prince of financiers, and this was merely a financial experiment. While putting it into operation Muhammad did not take into consideration either the reluctance of the people to adopt a new measure or their dishonesty. Even then this experiment was successful in its early stages. It failed only when the people began to turn out counterfeit coins. When this was brought to the notice of the Sultan, he immediately recalled his brass coins, and replaced them with silver coins.[1]

[1]The highest coin for which the Sultan wanted credit was the adali tankah of 140 grains (see *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*).

The Sultan has been criticised very adversely for his schemes of conquest. He made arrangements for the conquest of Khorasan, which was quite practicable. In the first place Persia was suffering by reason of a weak and degenerate ruler, and secondly Muhammad had received promises of help from Abu Said, the Sultan of Egypt, and Tarmashirin, the chief of Central Asia. When everything was ready the former refused to co-operate and the latter was dethroned, so Muhammad's project came to nothing. Muhammad also attempted the subjugation of certain Himalayan Hill States. The expedition was successful, but later on, disaster overwhelmed the force, owing to the indiscretion of its leader.

Schemes of Conquest

The later years of Sultan Muhammad's reign were clouded and rebellions broke out in all parts of the Empire. Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah rebelled in Ma'abar (Madura) in 1335, and was allowed to become independent. Similarly a rising took place in Bengal in 1337 and the Sultan finding himself unable to cope with the situation, allowed Fakhruddin, the usurper, to assume independence. Even the heart of Northern India did not remain quiet. Ain-ul-Mulk led a revolt in the Doab, and it was not without serious exertions that he was put down by the Sultan. But the most serious consequences were felt on account of intrigue and sedition in the Deccan. The decline of revenue in the empire, the harsh and cruel punishments of the king, and the treachery of his foreign nobles broke up his empire. The imperial authority then became lax, and the Hindus recovered power in the farthest south. In 1336 the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded by Hari Har and Bukka, and henceforward Muslim power disappeared from Warrangal and Dwarasamudra. The Sultan was helpless, and failed to crush a serious rebellion of his nobles, which spread from Devagiri to Gujarat. It was in pursuit of these rebels in Sind that he breathed

Rebellions of the Reign.

his last in A.D. 1351. While still alive Devagiri passed out of his hands, and a new and independent kingdom was founded there by Alauddin Bahman Shah in A.D. 1347.

Achievements of Muhammad Tughluq.

It would appear from the foregoing narrative that Muhammad was an extremely unlucky monarch. Endowed with rare genius he worked hard all his life for the welfare of his subjects. His failure was due to circumstances over which he had no control. Nevertheless, the verdict of the historian will be, that in spite of his generous intentions, he could do little for the welfare of his people, and that his achievements were transitory and ineffectual.

Ibn Batuta.

No account of Muhammad Tughluq's reign would be complete without a reference to the Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta. He was born at Tangier in A.D. 1304 and his full name was Abu-Abdulla Muhammad. Possessing an inborn passion for travel, Ibn Batuta set off on his journey at the youthful age of twenty-one. He wandered through the countries of Asia and Africa, and entered India through the western passes. He was welcomed by Muhammad Tughluq, and appointed Qazi of Delhi. For eight years he lived at the court of the Sultan and was the recipient of numerous honours. He gives a vivid description of the various events of which he was an eye-witness. He describes with considerable impartiality the gifts and punishments, the kindness and severities of his patron. He was sent by Muhammad on a diplomatic mission to China, and when he came back from that country, returned *via* the Deccan, to his native place.

Firoz Tughluq

The death of Muhammad Tughluq was followed by the accession of his cousin Firoz Tughluq, to whom all the nobles swore allegiance. As was to be expected, order was quickly restored in the army, which followed the new Sultan to Delhi where the customary rites of coronation were performed.

Firoz had received his training under the guidance of the late Sultan; but he inherited very few of his virtues. He was weak, vacillating and irresolute. In all his actions he paid a strict regard to the behests of religion and to the verdict of the Ulema. He spared no pains to convert Hindus to Islam, by offering them all sorts of temptations, especially exemption from Jiziya. Towards the Shiahs he was implacable. He could not tolerate their existence. Firoz was pious, learned, and sincere, and he tried to rule justly and firmly. The historians have praised him for his simplicity, his frugality and his piety. He was a model Muslim ruler. Yet his reign was disgraced by outbreaks of fanaticism, and he could not rise above the prejudices of his age.

Political Achievements

Firoz had not the will for persistent exertion. However, he led several expeditions to distant provinces. Bengal was invaded twice, in 1354 and 1359. The province had assumed independence during the lifetime of the late Sultan. Firoz tried to recover it, twice besieged the fortress of Ikdala, but came back without capturing it. On his second return from Bengal he invaded Jajnagar (Orissa). The Rai fled and the temple of Jagannath was desecrated. Ultimately he submitted and paid a large indemnity to the invader. But by far the most important triumph of Firoz was the capture of Nagarkot after a protracted siege of six months in 1361. His last attempt was directed towards Thatta. With a large army he went there in 1362–1364, and after a long campaign lasting several months he compelled the Jam to offer submission. In 1336 Bahram Khan rebelled against Muhammad Shah Bahmani and sought his intervention. But Firoz refused to help him.

Firoz Tughluq is not so well known for his political achievements as for the excellence of his administrative principles and practice. Being essentially a man of peace, he devoted his attention to the development of his govern-

ment. He revived the *jagir* system, which had been abolished by Alauddin. A fresh assessment of revenue was undertaken and abuses in the collection were put down with a strong hand. All unlawful and vexatious taxes were abolished. For the benefit of agriculture he dug four canals, some of which still exist. His organization of the departments of law and justice was very useful while his administration of poor relief deserves high praise. He provided occupation for the weak and the indigent, and freely fed the blind and the helpless. He opened a large number of hospitals. Among other works of public utility mention might be made of the numerous mosques and buildings which were erected during his reign. He founded the towns of Firozabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur and several others. Being fond of gardens he planted 1,200 of them in the vicinity of Delhi. He was a great patron of learning, and endowed numerous colleges and monasteries. The Sultan was fond of history, and Ziauddin Barni and Shams-i-Siraj Afif wrote in his reign. He also patronized Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, who lectured on theology and Muslim jurisprudence.

Administration of Firoz

All these beneficent measures earned for Firoz very high praise, and he laboured hard for his people. Yet it must be admitted that he made some serious mistakes. The introduction of the *jagir* system and the practice of proxy in the army decreased its efficiency, and with it the stability of the throne. But more pernicious than all this was the slave system which Firoz patronized and encouraged. They numbered 180,000 and he had a separate establishment for them. In a short time the slaves acquired great authority and power, and when the presence of their master was removed they broke out into excesses.

The last days of Firoz were spent in sorrow and anxiety, and the tenor of his life was disturbed by the dissensions of parties and factions. The attempt of his

minister to dispossess the crown prince created a commotion in the Empire. Firoz tried to quell it, but advancing age made his efforts fruitless. The last public act of his life was the conferment of the insignia upon his grandson Tughluq Shah bin Fateh Khan. He died not long afterwards, in October 1388, and his death was followed by the final break up of the Empire.

The last days of Firoz

The fact that the empire collapsed immediately after the death of Firoz deserves some consideration. We can analyse the causes of this usual phenomenon of history. Firstly the rebellions which occurred in the later years of Muhammad's reign undermined the stability of the State; secondly the weak and irresolute character of Firoz prevented him from recovering lost territories, and ambitious chieftains and disloyal governors hoisted the flag of revolt on all sides; thirdly, the *jagir* and the slave systems did much to lower the prestige of the Sultanate, and finally, the incompetence of the later Tughluqs did much to hasten the inevitable downfall of the Empire.

The Causes of Disintegration

The dynasty of Firoz continued to rule for another twenty-six years, but none of the six rulers who followed him could save the Empire from the slow, but sure process of decay. Their short and inglorious reigns are remarkable only for the struggles of rival factions to wield supremacy. Several puppet rulers succeeded one another in rapid succession, but none of them could hold his own against the inexorable efforts of Prince Muhammad, who ultimately obtained the sovereignty of Delhi in 1390. His four years of kingship were marred by the risings of the Hindus in the Doab, and when he died, the succession was claimed by two scions of the Tughluq family. Nasarat Shah and Mahmud Tughluq both called themselves sovereigns of the same dynasty. Both had their partisans and fought several

The Weak Successors of Firoz

engagements till 1397, when the news of the advance of Timur staggered both of them.

Invasion of Timur (1398 A.D.)

Central Asia has exercised a profound influence on the mediæval polity of India, and the successive moves of Tartars have left a deep impress on the history of India. How the rise of the Mongols affected the fortunes of this country has been noted above. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the successors of Chingiz Khan had lost both in power and prestige, and conditions were ripe for the rise of another dynasty. The leader of the revolution which established the supremacy of the Turks was no less a man than Timur. Born in 1336 at Kesh in Trans-Oxiana, Timur had led a most romantic and adventurous life. His courage and resolution elevated him to the highest rank among the great conquerors of the world. His rise led to a repetition of the glories of Chingiz Khan, and in a short time he conquered all those territories which were once possessed by the 'Scourge of God'. Persia, Samarqand and Bokhara obeyed the behests of the great war-lord, and he made up his mind to conquer India.

Timur was anxious to extend the bounds of the faith in which he believed, and the inexhaustible wealth and resources of India spurred his ambition. He took counsel with his ministers, and they humbly acquiesced in the suggestion of their master, and declared it their duty to suppress the enemies of the faith in order to preserve their religion and strengthen the sacred law.

An advance guard was sent under Pir Muhammad who captured Uchha and Multan. Timur himself crossed the Chenab in 1398 and passing Tulamba on the way reached Dipalpur. The people of this place fled to Bhatner, but they were pursued, and severely punished on the capitulation of the fortress. From Bhatner the victorious Turk marched to Sarsuti which was easily conquered. He had now arrived within six miles of Delhi, and began to make

preparations for an attack against it. After ordering the massacre of the prisoners who were in his camp, he fought a battle with Sultan Mahmud Tughluq of Delhi and inflicted a crushing defeat on the weak ruler. The defeat of Mahmud was followed by the sack of Delhi which lasted for three days. Horrible atrocities were perpetrated by the ferocious Turki soldiers who paid no respect either to sex or age. From Delhi Timur passed on to Meerut where the fortress was razed to the ground, and on his way back through the hills Hardwar was desecrated, and the Raja of Jammu was defeated. Timur returned to his own country after a stay of fifteen months in India.

Effects of the Timuride Invasion

Timur's invasion was followed by widespread anarchy in Hindustan. Both the political and social machinery fell to pieces. Famine and pestilence added to the misery of the country. Politically, Northern India split up into a number of semi-independent states which fought among themselves for supremacy or possession. The weak rule of Firoz, and some of his ill-conceived reforms, were responsible for the break-up of the Tughluq Empire, and the country fell a prey to anarchy and confusion. In spite of the daily struggles which occurred among the petty states which sprang up at this period, it must be admitted that the contribution of these states to the culture of India was greater than that of any dynasty which ruled India between 1206 and 1398. After Timur's invasion they were left free to develop their resources unhampered by the existence of any supreme power at Delhi. But Delhi and its environments now witnessed a long drawn-out struggle between Mahmud Tughluq and his minister Mallu Iqbal, and the suzerainty of the Tughluqs came to an end.

Date	Events.
A.D.	
1290 ..	Accession of Jalal-ud-din Khilji.
1292 ..	Invasion of the Mongols under their leader Halaku.
1294 ..	Alauddin's expedition to Devagiri.
1295 ..	Murder of Jalal-ud-din by Alauddin.
1297 ..	Accession of Sultan Alauddin Khilji; first Mongol invasion.
1297–98	Conquest of Gujarat.
1297–1305	Mongol invasions.
1301 ..	Fall of Ranthambhor.
1303 ..	Fall of Chitor.
1306–12	Conquest of Malwa; Kafur's expeditions to the Deccan.
1316 ..	Accession of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak.
1320 ..	Usurpation of Khusrau Khan.
1321 ..	Accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq (Ghazi Malik).
1325 ..	Accession of Fakhruddin Jauna with the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq.
1326–27	Evacuation of Delhi; foundation of Daulatabad.
1329–32	Forced currency of brass and copper for silver.
1335 ..	Revolt of Ahsan Shah at Ma'abar.
1337 ..	Rebellion in Bengal.
1336 ..	Foundation of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar.
1340–41	Revolt of Ain-ul-Mulk in the Doab.
1342 ..	Prolonged famine began.
1347 ..	Foundation of the Bahmani kingdom.
1347–51	The Sultan in Gujarat and Sind.
1351 ..	Death of the Sultan. Accession of Firoz Shah Tughluq.
1333–42	Ibn Batuta in India.
1353–54	The first expedition of Firoz to Bengal.
1359–60	Second expedition to Bengal.
1388 ..	Death of Firoz.
1398 ..	Invasion of Timur.

CHAPTER IV

Eclipse

Representatives of Timur

When Timur left India he placed the fiefs of Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore in the hands of a Sayyid, Khizr Khan, who became the founder of a new dynasty. Though Khizr Khan made himself master of Delhi it is doubtful if he and his successors deserve a place among the independent kings of Hindustan. Khizr Khan[1] never laid claim to such independence, and always called himself the representative of Timur, and recognized the suzerainty of Shahrukh Mirza of Samarqand, the son and successor of the great conqueror. The so-called dynasty of the Sayyids ruled Delhi for thirty-seven years, and claimed four rulers. Not one of them can be called great. Though their territorial jurisdiction included only the Panjab and Delhi and its environments, they were able to hold their own against the ambitions of the rulers of Jaunpur. The name of the three successors of Khizr Khan and the periods of their brief rule may be noted here: Mubarak (1421–34), Muhammad (1434–45), and Alam Shah (1445–51). The last of these was a weak and vacillating ruler and was forced by circumstances to abdicate in favour of Bahlol Lodi, the founder of a new dynasty.

The inglorious and uneventful regime of the Sayyids came to an end in 1451. The power of the small principalities increased greatly during the period, and the central power was shorn of a large amount of prestige

[1] This is no doubt the opinion of Ferishta and the historians who copied him but there is nothing to show that Khizr Khan recognized the suzerainty of Shahrukh Mirza. (See Thomas, *Chronicles*).

and influence. The new dynasty crushed the weak and mutually destructive states, and erected an imposing edifice on their ruins. A vigorous government was established, and people began to reap the benefits of it.

The First Afghan Empire

Bahlol was an Afghan adventurer who rose to eminence by dint of personal merit. He had won his spurs in the service of the Sayyids and saved Muhammad from the onslaughts of the Malwa army. He was now given the title of Khan-i-Khanan and began to aspire to kingly dignities. This ambition was realized in the next reign when a quarrel broke out between Alam Shah and his Wazir. The latter invited Bahlol to Delhi and offered him the throne. Bahlol's accession was followed by a marvellous change in the political conditions of Hindustan proper. His first efforts were directed towards the consolidation of his own power, and with an iron hand he put down the rebellious and semi-independent chieftains of the Doab. The peace and tranquillity which resulted therefrom induced Bahlol to push his fortunes further and wreck the independence of Jaunpur. After a prolonged struggle he was able to achieve his desire. Husain Sharqi was defeated and he fled. Jaunpur was annexed to the newly-founded Empire and Bahlol conferred it upon his son Barbak Shah. Bahlol Lodi died in A.D. 1488.

Bahlol Lodi

Bahlol's name deserves a high place in Indian History. His political preoccupation left him little time to devote to the solution of administrative problems, and he based his government on the time-honoured feudal system. In personal character Bahlol was brave, generous, humane and honest. He never liked pomp and show and never sat on the throne. His simplicity appealed to his Afghan barons whom he controlled with tact and firmness. His justice was always tempered with mercy. He was kind to the poor and indigent.

Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517)

The successor of Bahlol was different in character and temperament from his father. Though resembling his father in finer qualities, he was a strict disciplinarian and never liked to meet his Afghan barons on terms of equality and friendship. On the other hand he dominated them, and did not give them a free voice in the affairs of the kingdom. His accession to the throne was contested by his brother Barbak Shah of Jaunpur, but the latter was defeated and captured. It was not without serious efforts that Sikandar could restore order in the newly annexed territories. Husain Sharqi, the dispossessed king of Jaunpur, and a refugee in Bihar, made more than one attempt to create trouble there. His difficulties were greatly increased by the weak and incapable administration of Barbak who had been reinstated by Sikandar. The native zemindars made common cause with Sultan Husain and rose in revolt. Sikandar himself proceeded to punish them and after subduing them, conquered and annexed Bihar and Tirhut in 1495.

The next move of Sikandar was directed against his own Afghan barons. He insisted on the inspection of their accounts, and this led to startling disclosures. The audit and inspection were resented by the Afghans, who formed a conspiracy against Sikandar. But the secret was divulged and the miscreants were severely punished. The other event of importance in the reign was the foundation of Agra. It was first made the headquarters of the army, to enable the government to exercise an effective control over the neighbouring fiefs (1504), but later the Sultan also took up his residence there, and a splendid town gradually rose on the chosen ground. The village Sikandara still bears the name of the Sultan, who built there the Baradari palace. The year following the foundation of Agra witnessed a violent earthquake which was so severe that it levelled to the ground many beautiful buildings and houses. The loss of life was also appallingly heavy.

Sikandar did much to infuse new life and vigour into the administration, though he introduced no new reforms in it. The old system was continued and was tinged by religious fervour and theological narrowness, because of the Sultan's orthodoxy. He tried his best to advance the cause of Islam, and patronized the holy men and learned maulvies of his time. His devotion to faith was beneficial in one respect. It led him to detest vulgarity and obscenity. He conferred offices only on men of high birth and reputation. His administration of justice was also admirable. He personally heard cases and satisfied the litigants. It is right to say that Sikandar was the greatest king of his dynasty. He died in 1517.

Administration of Sikandar

The glorious period of the Lodi dynasty passed away with the death of Sikandar. In the reign of his successor Ibrahim a number of forces were at work, and they all tended to weaken the empire. The administration of the Lodis, as of other preceding dynasties, was not based on a well-conceived and stable policy. Everything depended upon the personality of the monarch. If he was strong, he worked wonders. If he was weak, his empire fell to pieces. Ibrahim possessed neither the simplicity and tact of Bahlol, nor the zeal and majesty of Sikandar. He was a man of headstrong and irritable temper, whose life was spent in suppressing the revolts of the disaffected barons.

Ibrahim Lodi (1512-26)

As in the case of his father, Ibrahim's succession to the throne was contested by his brother Jalal, governor of Jaunpur. The quarrel ended in the defeat and destruction of the latter. The greatest triumph won during the reign was that against the Rana of Mewar. Ibrahim organized a large army and led an attack into the territories of Rana Sanga, the premier Rajput Chief in Rajputana. A desperate battle took place and Sanga was defeated and fled. This victory probably turned the head of the Lodi sovereign who now made up his mind to destroy his feudal barons.

He imprisoned and put many of them to death, and when he invited Daulat Khan of the Punjab, and tried to deal with him in his usual manner, the latter refused to obey the Imperial orders. Meanwhile Alam Khan, an uncle of the Sultan, had left the court in disgust and gone to Kabul. There he invoked the help of Babur, and when the latter received also an invitation from Daulat Khan, he proceeded to India, defeated Ibrahim at the battle of Panipat in 1526, and laid the foundation of the dynasty of the Moghuls. After a desperate battle Ibrahim was himself slain, together with five or six thousand of his bravest warriors.

Independent Kingdoms of the Fifteenth Century

As has already been noted, the working of centrifugal tendencies is the chief note of the history of the fifteenth century. The Empire of Delhi broke up into numerous independent kingdoms which carried on their existence without any interference from the Delhi Sultans. The latter had grown too weak to keep these distant principalities in check. Hence, we find these states developing their resources, organizing governments and taking part in numerous quarrels against powerful zemindars, rival claimants, or sovereign kinglets. Their importance lies mainly in the fact that they established order in large territories, and conferred on their subjects the blessings of civilization.

Bengal

The history of Bengal is divided into several periods of unequal length. The first period begins with its subjugation by Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1202 and extends up to 1282. During this time the province remained a dependency of the Delhi Empire, though Iltutmish and Balban had to undertake expeditions to punish the treachery of their governors. In 1282, Balban entrusted it to his son who ruled it for about thirty years. The independence of Bengal begins from that time, though it was not publicly proclaimed till 1340.

The independent kingdom of Bengal embraced an area bounded by the Sunderbans on the south, the Brahmaputra

INDIA
in the
15TH CENTURY

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400

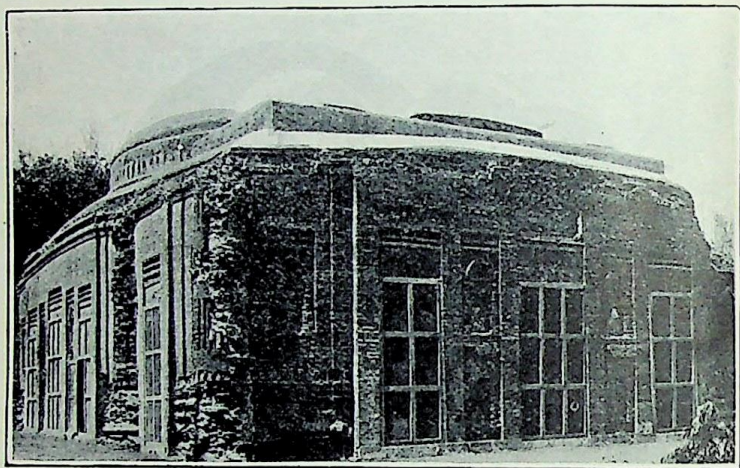
70 80 90
30 30
20 20
10 10

KABUL
Khaiber P.
Ghazni
Peshawar
(Sind)
KASHMIR
AFGHAN
PANJAB
R. Indus
R. Jhilam
R. Chin-ab
R. Ravi
R. Bias
Lahore
Ambala
Multan
R. Sutlej
MULTAN
Panipat
R. Ganges
HIMALAYAS
Shahabad
DELHI
Sikander
Etawa
RAJPUTANA
Kanauj
Champaran
Ajmere
Agra
Oudh
R. Gogra
JAUNPUR
AFGHAN EMPIRE
SINDH
R. Luni
Gwalior
Patna
Marwar
Rantambhor
Jaunpur
BEHAR
R. Ganges
MEWAR
Chanderi
Benares
Chitor
Gaur
Ahmadabad
MALWA
Champanir
Mandu
Vindhia Ra
Jabalpur
BENGAL
GUJARAT
Junahgarh
Satpura R.
R. Narbada
R. Mahanadi
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
ORISSA
BERAR
AHMADNAGAR
BAHMINI
KINGDOM
Bidar
Golconda
TELINGAWA
Bijapur
R. Bhima
Kulbarga
BIJAPUR
ARABIAN
SEA
Goa
R. Krishna
Vijayanagar
BAY OF
BENGAL
VIJAYA-
NAGAR
DECCAN

70 Longitude East 80 of Greenwich

By kind permission of Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams

on the east, Kuch Bihar and the Terai on the north, and the river Kosi on the west. At times Tirhut and South Bihar also formed part of it. In its period of independence it was ruled from three capitals Gaur, Pandua and Tanda, all situated in the Malda district.

Between 1340 and 1572 six successive dynasties controlled the destinies of Bengal. The first of these was that of Purbiya or Bhangeras. The most famous ruler of this dynasty was Iliyas Khwaja Shamsuddin (1339–58), a man of mild and generous disposition, and popular with his army and subjects. He transferred his capital from

RUINS OF THE MOSQUE IN GAUR

Pandua to Gaur. His independence was recognized by Firoz Tughluq. His son Sikandar (1358–89) commenced his reign with a strict administration of justice and cultivated the arts of peace. He built a superb mosque at Pandua.

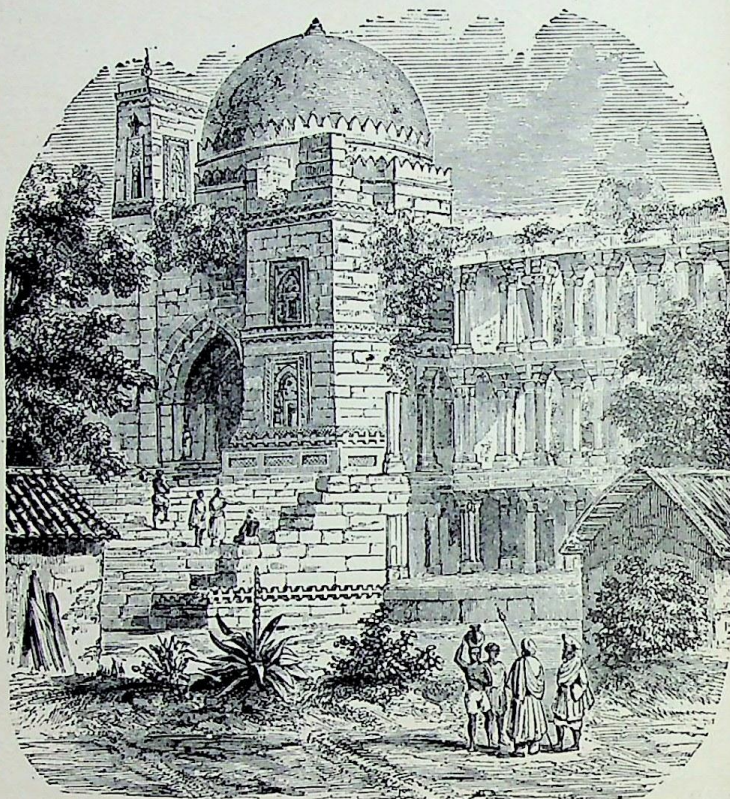
Leaving aside the inglorious periods of the Hindu (1409–42) and Abyssinian (1486–93) dynasties, let us pass on to the fourth dynasty—the Meccain dynasty—so called because its founder traced his descent from the Sheriffs

of Mecca. Its founder Alauddin Husain Shah (1493–1519) was the greatest of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal. From the position of an ordinary servant he rose to the dignity of the first subject in the kingdom. He subjugated Orissa, led an unsuccessful attack on Kamrup, and concluded a treaty of peace with Sikandar Lodi, to whom he ceded Bihar and Tirhut. He gave protection to Husain Shah Sharqi, the fugitive king of Jaunpur. His successor Nasarat Shah (1519–32) was a person of acknowledged bravery and superior talents. The disorganized state of the Delhi Empire led him to re-annex Tirhut. This brought him into conflict with Babur with whom he concluded a treaty. He treated generously the last representative of the Lodi dynasty. His death in 1533 was followed by great disorders which were checked by the ability and energy of the Suri dynasty. The history of the Suri dynasty will be related in a later chapter. It is sufficient to note here that the last independent dynasty in Bengal was that of the Kararanis from whom the kingdom was conquered by Akbar in A.D. 1575.

Jaunpur Kingdom

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firoz Tughluq to commemorate the name of his cousin Jauna Khan. The Sharqi dynasty was firmly established by the resolute action of Sarwar, surnamed Malik-us-Sharq Khwaja Jahan. His remarkable success may be measured by his achievements. He subdued the country between Kanauj and Bihar, chastised the rebels of Etawah, Kol and the Doab, overawed the rulers of Bengal and Orissa and compelled them to pay tribute. He died in 1399.

The short rule of his successor ended with the accession of Ibrahim, the most capable monarch of the Sharqi dynasty. He raised Jaunpur to the position of the premier city of Hindustan, and made it a centre of learning and art. Jaunpur was called the 'Second Baghdad', which attracted pious and learned men from all parts of Asia. Ibrahim was an energetic and benevolent prince, beloved

of his people, and devoted to his subjects. His ambition led him to interfere with Delhi politics, but he failed to capture the Imperial city. His peaceful rule was disturbed by the loss of Kalpi which was wrested from him by Hoshang of Malwa in 1433. Ibrahim died in 1440.

VIEW OF THE GATEWAY OF THE JAMA MASJID, JAUNPUR
'From Ferguson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.' John Murray

The sixth and the last ruler of the dynasty was Husain Shah. The only creditable record of his reign was the capture of Orissa and Gwalior. Spurred to ambition by his wife, Husain tried to capture Delhi and came into

conflict with Bahlol Lodi. The result of the struggle was unfavourable to him because he was defeated and his territories were annexed in A.D. 1476.

Malwa

The beautiful province of Malwa was first conquered during the reign of Iltutmish. It remained a dependency of Delhi till 1401, when one Dilawar Khan Ghori was appointed its governor. He assumed independence shortly after and made Dhar the capital of his kingdom. The most famous king of Malwa was Hoshang (1405–35), who made Mandu the capital. The major portion of his reign was occupied with incessant struggles with the kings of Gujarat. His death was followed by a revolution in Malwa politics and by the rise of Sultan Mahmud Khilji (1436–69). The new king was a great military leader who waded to the throne through blood. He received a robe of honour from the Caliph, and an embassy from Abu Said of Central Asia. The independence of Malwa continued for another sixty years after his death. It was temporarily absorbed by Gujarat in 1534, and was annexed to the Moghul Empire in 1564.

Gujarat

The beginnings of Muslim influence in Gujarat date back to the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, but the establishment of supremacy took place in 1298 when it was conquered by Alauddin Khilji. For about a century after the fall of the Baghelas, the last Hindu rulers of Gujarat, it remained an appanage of the Delhi Empire, administered by governors or Nazims. The period is marked by incessant efforts on their part to annihilate the surviving Hindu chiefs.

The history of its independence begins from about 1401, when, after the invasion of Timur, its governor, Zafar Khan, assumed independence, and formally withdrew his allegiance. But the real founder of the greatness of Gujarat was Ahmad Shah (1411–43), a brave and warlike prince, who spent his whole life in waging wars and conquering territories to enlarge the boundaries of his small

kingdom. He built the city of Ahmadabad and adorned it with many beautiful buildings. The most renowned of the kings of Gujarat was Mahmud Bigarah who reigned for fifty-two years, from 1458 to 1511. He waged a war with the Rana of Mewar, and made an unsuccessful attempt to drive out the Portuguese in 1509. His independence was recognized by Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. The credit of annexing both Malwa and Chitor belongs to Bahadur Shah, the fourth successor of Mahmud. The kingdom was annexed by Akbar in 1572. He defeated and captured Muzaffar Shah, the last king of Gujarat.

Khandesh

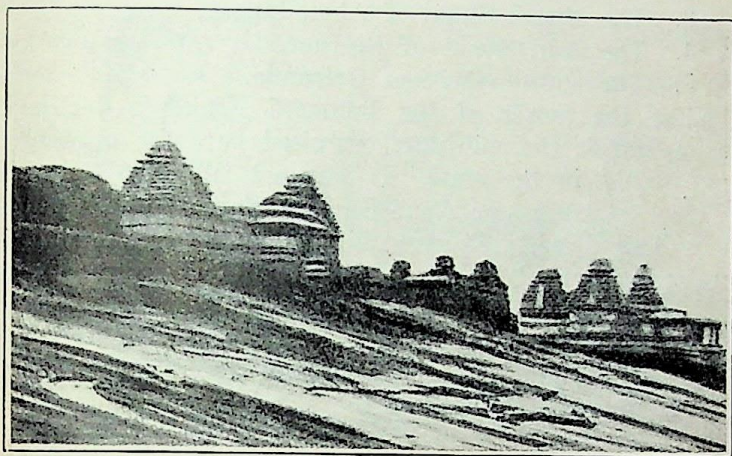
Khandesh was a small but well protected tract of land. The famous fortress of Asirgarh was deemed impregnable. The province formed a part of Muhammad Tughluq's empire, and continued to be a feudatory of Delhi during the reign of Firoz, who entrusted it to Malik Raja Farooqi, one of his personal attendants. The latter, following the example of his more adventurous brethren, declared his independence after the invasion of Timur. The history of the dynasty founded by Malik Raja was uneventful. His successors ruled peacefully till 1601, when the kingdom was annexed by Akbar.

The Deccan

Having briefly sketched the story of the rise and fall of the various independent dynasties north of the Vindhyas, it seems desirable to make a rapid survey of the politics in the Deccan, because it will help us to understand the causes of the fall of the Tughluq Empire. The Deccan has always played an important part in the history of Northern India, and whenever an Asiatic ruler tried to unite it with the North, he met with failure and defeat. The case of Alauddin is an exception—but this exception proves the rule. He followed a wise policy in the Deccan. He merely subjugated the Deccan chiefs and compelled them to pay tribute; whereas Muhammad Tughluq, tried to set

up his own administration there. The result was the failure and break-up of the Empire.

Bahmani Kingdom

The portion of Muhammad's territories south of the Vindhyas which remained in the hands of the Muslims was the northern section of the Deccan peninsula. Here, in the later years of his reign, a brave and warlike soldier, Hasan Gangu, founded the Bahmani dynasty. Hasan was a descendant of Bahman Shah, King of Persia. He made

GROUP OF JAINA TEMPLES, VIJAYANAGAR

Kulburga the capital of his kingdom, which for purposes of efficient administration he divided into *tarafs*, each taraf being assigned to a faithful and devoted amir. The dynasty founded by Hasan flourished for about one hundred and seventy-nine years, and claimed a long line of fourteen rulers. Their reigns are mostly a record of long struggles waged with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, with varying success. Some of the rulers were patrons of art and literature and the Bahmani court attracted men from distant lands. The downfall of the

kingdom was due partly to the weakness and imbecility of the later Bahmanides, partly to factious intrigues, and rivalry between the Deccanis and Abyssinians. A capable minister Mahmud Gawan tried to check the evil, and introduced many administrative reforms, but he was murdered at the instance of his enemies, and the fate of the Bahmanides was sealed. The kingdom broke up into five independent principalities which were:—

1. The Barid Shahi of Bidar.
2. The Imad Shahi of Berar.
3. The Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar.
4. The Adil Shahi of Bijapur.
5. The Qutub Shahi of Golconda.

Bidar

When the power of the Bahmani Kingdom declined, Qasim Barid, the minister, exercised supreme authority in the state. It was not till 1526 that his successor Amir Barid declared his independence. The dynasty lingered on till 1609 when the kingdom was absorbed by the Adil Shahis of Bijapur.

Berar

The Governor of Berar, Fateh Ullah, was the first to secede from the Bahmani Kingdom, and he declared his independence in 1484. His dynasty lasted till 1575, when the province was annexed to the Nizam Shahi dominions.

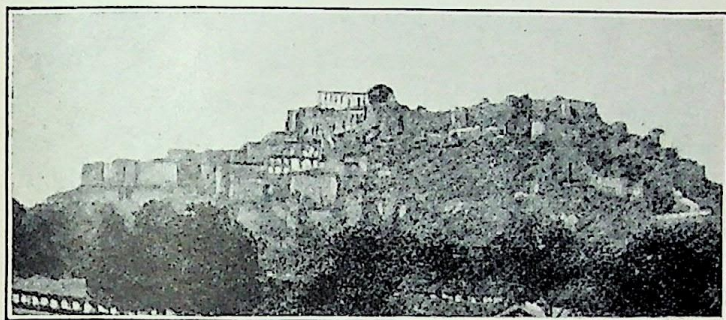
Ahmadnagar

The founder of the Nizam Shahi dynasty was Malik Ahmad the governor of Junnar, who declared his independence in 1498. He captured Daulatabad and founded the city of Ahmadnagar. He died in A.D. 1508. After him the history of Ahmadnagar is unimportant except for the heroic defence of Chand Bibi against Prince Murad, and the able and honest administration of the faithful Malik Ambar. The kingdom was annexed to the Moghul Empire by Shahjahan in 1636.

The independence of Bijapur dates from the year 1489, when Yusuf Adil severed his connection with the Bahmanides. He was one of the most remarkable rulers of the

Deccan. He was singularly free from religious bigotry and treated his Hindu subjects with kindness and consideration. His dynasty lasted till 1687, when it was extinguished by Aurangzeb. The potentates of Bijapur were known for their patronage of art and literature.

Bijapur

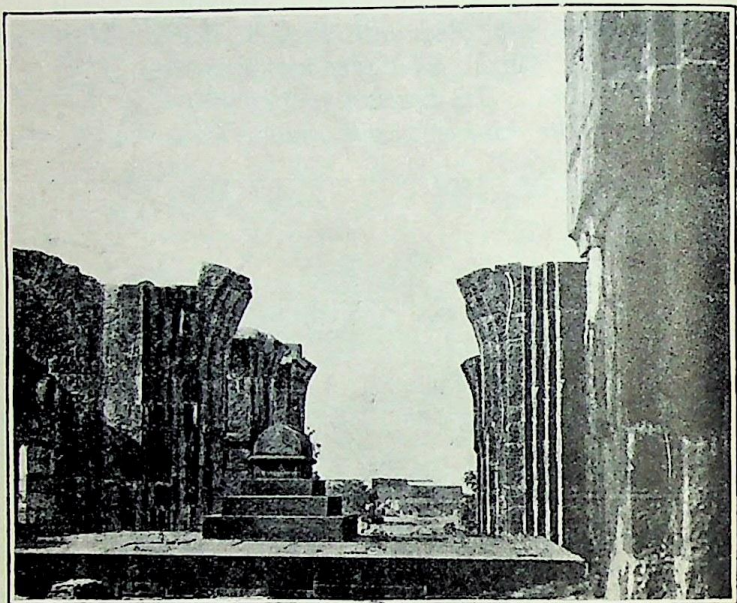
Qutub Shah, the governor of Telingana, was alarmed at the pride and insolence of Qasim Barid, the minister of the Bahmani King, and declared his independence in 1518. His territories coincided with the old Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal. Qutub Shah was murdered by his son in 1543. His dynasty continued till 1687, when the kingdom was annexed by Aurangzeb.

Golconda

THE FORT, GOLCONDA

It has been well said by a historian that the Muslim conquest of the Deccan was a mere military occupation. Hence when the bonds of that occupation became loose there occurred a revival of Hindu power which was signalized by the foundation of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336. The credit for the beginning of this revival belongs to two brothers, Hari Har and Bukka, whose zealous efforts culminated in an enlargement and establishment of the Hindu Empire, and the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the far south. The last ruler of the dynasty

Revival of Hindu power in the South

founded by Hari Har was Deva Ray II (1421–48). During his reign Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners—Nicolo Conti, an Italian, and Abdur-Razzaq, an envoy from Persia—who have left valuable observations regarding the city and empire of Vijayanagar.

The death of Deva Ray II was followed by a long period of intrigue and disorder which ended with the advent of a new dynasty of Tuluva descent. The most

TOMB OF ADIL SHAH, BIJAPUR

distinguished ruler of this dynasty was Krishna Deva Ray (1509–30). Under him, Vijayanagar attained greatness and prosperity. He extended his territories on all sides and overcame the armies of Orissa, Golconda and Bijapur. Paes and Nuniz, two contemporary foreign travellers, speak of the king in terms of the warmest admiration. The fact is undoubted that he was the last Hindu king of the Deccan who can be called truly great. After his

death decline set in, and during the rule of Sadasiva Ray the kingdom was invaded conjointly by the five Sultans of the Deccan. The Hindus were defeated, and their capital was mercilessly plundered. The greatness of Vijayanagar came to an end.

The Administration of the Empire

The administration of the Vijayanagar Empire has been highly praised by competent observers. It was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and closely resembled the government of other Muhammadan kingdoms of India. Its spirit may be summed up in two words 'military autocracy'. The king was the supreme head. He was assisted by a staff of ministers, all of whom were subordinate to the will of the sovereign. The whole empire was divided into a number of provinces, each under a viceroy, who usually was either a prince of the blood, or some other noble or representative of the old ruling family. The provinces were further split up into numerous sub-divisions, with the village as the unit of administration. The affairs of the village were controlled by a panchayat. The main source of the state income was land revenue, and it is not known what percentage of the gross produce was levied from the peasants. The king maintained a huge army, the strength of which could be increased in times of war by levies from provincial governors.

As to the economic and social life of the empire, there seems to have been a wide gulf between the higher classes and the masses. The former enjoyed a life of affluence and comfort, which was in marked contrast with the poverty and indigence of the latter. The king and the court consumed the major portion of the state income. Brahmans were held in high esteem, while the rite of *sati* was common. The slaughter of cows was prohibited, but people ate the meat of other animals and birds.

Date	Events
A.D.	
1412 ..	Death of Sultan Mahmud, the last representative of the Tughluq dynasty.
1414 ..	Accession of Khizr Khan, the first Sayyid ruler.
1421–34 ..	Mubarak Khan.
1434–43 ..	Muhammad Shah.
1443–51 ..	Alam Shah.
1451 ..	Accession of Sultan Bahlol Lodi.
1489 ..	Sultan Sikandar Lodi.
1517 ..	Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.
1526 ..	First Battle of Panipat, defeat and death of Ibrahim; end of the Sultanate.

INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

(*a*) Bengal

A.D.	
1337 ..	Fakhruddin's rebellion in Bengal.
1339–58 ..	Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah.
1358–89 ..	Sikandar Shah.
1409–14 ..	Raja Kans. (Hindu dynasty).
1414–32 ..	Yadu or Jalaluddin (Hindu dynasty).
1493–1519	Alauddin Husain Shah.

(*b*) Jaunpur

1360 ..	Foundation of Jaunpur.
1399 ..	Independence of Jaunpur declared by Khwaja Jahan's adopted son.
1476 ..	Husain Shah, the last independent king of Jaunpur overthrown by Bahlol Lodi.

(*c*) Malwa

1401 ..	Dilawar Khan Ghori declared himself independent in Malwa.
1531 ..	Malwa annexed to Gujarat.
1562 ..	Malwa conquered by Akbar's generals.

(*d*) Gujarat

1401 ..	Zafar Khan established his independence in Gujarat.
1572 ..	Kingdom annexed by Akbar.

Date	Events.
A.D.	(*e*) KHANDESH
1388 ..	Malik Raja founded the principality of Khandesh.
1601 ..	Surrender of Asirgarh to Akbar and annexation of the kingdom as a subah of the empire of Akbar.
	BAHMANI KINGDOM
1347 ..	Foundation of the Bahmani dynasty.
	THE FIVE SULTANATES
	(*a*) BARID SHAHI DYNASTY OF BIDAR
1492 ..	Establishment of the dynasty.
1609 ..	Territory annexed by Bijapur.
	(*b*) IMAD SHAHI DYNASTY OF BERAR
1484 ..	Foundation of the Imad Shahi dynasty.
1575 ..	The principality absorbed by Ahmadnagar.
	(*c*) NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY OF AHMADNAGAR
1498 ..	Malik Ahmad declared his independence under the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah.
1594 ..	Gallant resistance of Chand Bibi to Akbar's general.
1636 ..	Formal annexation by Shahjahan.
	(*d*) ADIL SHAHI DYNASTY OF BIJAPUR
1489 ..	Yusuf Adil Shah declared his independence.
1687 ..	Aurangzeb annexed Bijapur to the Moghul Empire.
	(*e*) QUTUB SHAHI DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA
1518 ..	Foundation of the dynasty by Qutb Shah.
1687 ..	Annexation by Aurangzeb.
	KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR
1336 ..	Foundation of the kingdom by Hari Har and Bukka.
1509–65 ..	Third or Tuluva dynasty.
1565 ..	Battle of Talikota.

CHAPTER V

Civilization of the Delhi Sultanate

The conquest of India by the Muslims is an epoch in the history of the world. A handful of brave and warlike warriors within a space of five centuries were able to gain a foothold in a foreign and hostile country, and to defeat their opponents. There remained little trace of Hindu states in Hindustan proper. The Rajputs were compelled to migrate and settle down in the barren and inhospitable deserts, and their removal from the Aryavarta was followed by the break-up of the ancient seats of Brahmanical learning. The harm produced by these invasions is undoubted. Yet they were not without beneficial results. The disappointed, hungry and weary scholars of Northern India migrated to the Deccan, where they met with a warm reception in the courts of the Hindu Rajas. Further their arrival and presence gave an impetus to the development of Aryan culture in these courts. Apart from these considerations the Muslim conquest produced a profound effect upon the mind of the people. The Hindu religion was shorn of a number of excrescences and its contact with Islam brought out its purity, simplicity and grace. A period of Hindu revival began, which had a far-reaching effect on Hindu thought. The people looked back, and began to interpret this revival in the light of their own sacred doctrines. The activities of many preachers of the new cult, who flourished during this period, will be discussed later on. Hinduism, in its turn, brought a change in Islam in India. The effect of this change is perceptible in the art and literature of the period.

Muslims and India

The political progress of Islam in India has already been indicated in previous chapters, and the religious and intellectual side of it will now be taken into consideration. The North Western passes have served as so many gates for the continuous flow of successive tribes into India. Huns, Sakas, or Scythians, and many others had come, and were absorbed by Hinduism. The case with the Muslims was different. They came to India bringing with them a highly developed culture of their own. They came not to yield but to subjugate, and their minds were filled with certain clear and definite doctrines which they wanted to impose upon the vanquished. The natural result of this was that the Hindus became exclusive. Their antipathy to the new religion was the outcome of certain important factors. Firstly, the violent conduct of the invaders could not but turn their minds against them. Secondly, Hindu philosophy leads men to think more of the world to come than of this material world and consequently makes them comparatively indifferent to the happenings of this world. Yet the working of certain forces rendered the long continuance of this isolation and exclusiveness impossible. The invaders had permanently settled down in the country, and made India their home, and daily intercourse between Muslims and Hindus became inevitable.

Progress of Islam in India

Broadly speaking, the population of India was divided into Hindus and Muslims, and there was a wild gulf between the status of the two. The one was the ruler, the other was the ruled. The social life of the Muslims underwent many changes. The early Muslims were hardy and vigorous, and led a far simpler life than their descendants. The latter acquired habits of luxury and extravagance, and became weak and pleasure-loving. Religion guided their daily life in theory, and they followed the simple, clear and definite precepts of their religion with zeal and

Social conditions of the people

enthusiasm. Among them, women occupied a very high place and were well educated, and carefully trained. Islam has assigned a very high position to women, and enjoins respect for the female on the part of all believers. The social system of the Hindus did not undergo any change. Their caste system became more rigid. They kept themselves aloof, and at first had little intercourse with the strangers. Yet daily contact with the Muslims produced a change in their living, dress, and outlook on life. Like the Muslims, they also held women in high esteem and the history of this period is full of numerous examples of their devotion and fidelity. Some of the Muslim rulers were enlightened men who regarded the welfare of their subjects as the aim of their government. The Muslims had treated the conquered nations in various Asiatic countries with remarkable kindness. *Jizya* was, it is true, levied from the Hindus, but the *jizya* exempted them from the hardships of a military life. They were protected from oppression, and their property was safe. It is true that some fanatical Sultans were oppressive and merciless; others were, however, just and kind, and employed all the resources of the state for the benefit of their subjects. Famines were not uncommon and some of the rulers, e.g., Muhammad Tughluq, made special provision for the relief of the people. On the whole the ordinary commodities of life were cheap and this fact is verified by various travellers who visited the country. Facilities for commerce were many and varied and a brisk trade was carried on between India and other foreign countries. To improve the economic condition of the people and to provide facilities for internal commerce, rulers like Firoz Tughluq made provision for irrigation by digging canals and constructed a number of roads.

Marco Polo visited India in the latter part of the thirteenth century. He visited Malabar, or the Coromandel coast districts, which included the Chola kingdom and the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal. He has left a vivid

Marco Polo

account of India as he found her. He noticed the scanty clothing of the inhabitants, including the King. The practice of *sati* was prevalent. The people generally abstained from alcohol and animal food. They squatted on the ground, and did not use chairs. They were expert traders and had a commercial training from their very infancy. Even in the thirteenth century the country maintained the reputation of being one of the chief marts of Asia. Horses were imported from Persia and Arabia by sea. Merchants came from Southern China, Arabia, and the Levant to obtain cargoes of pepper, ginger, indigo, etc., very fine muslins like "tissue of spider's web" were manufactured in the country and Marco Polo is full of admiration for them.

Marco Polo praises the merchants of Gujarat for their honesty and truthfulness. They were superstitious and did no transaction until the day and hour were propitious. Piracy was prevalent in the western seas but pirates were not inhuman to their captives. The Brahmans were devoted to their idols and they could not be induced, even on pain of death, to do anything which their religion pronounced to be a sin. The Jains strictly followed the doctrine of *Ahimsa*.

Nature of the Delhi Sultanate

The government of the Delhi Sultanate was a military autocracy tempered by *Shariat*. The fountain-head of all authority was the Sultan or the King. He appointed his ministers and their term of office was determined by the will of the sovereign. Generally there were four ministers, each in charge of one of the four important departments of war, revenue, correspondence and the royal household. The ministers were consulted on all matters of importance by the Sultan, but it was not binding on the latter to follow the suggestions and advice of the former. As a matter of fact, most of the Sultans were guided by Ulemas, whose advice was sought in many matters of government. Alauddin and Muhammad Tughluq tried to

be free from the influence of the theologian, yet they could not oppose the policy, or act against the wishes of the leaders of religion. In some cases, this influence proved salutary, for religion was the only barrier against despotism, and if a king were cruel or unjust, he could ignore the wishes of his ministers, but he could not go against the injunctions of the Quran, as interpreted by the Ulema. Hence the Ulema on certain occasions, restrained the cruel, checked the unjust, and opposed the wicked Sultans. By this means they proved useful to the country. On the other hand, in many cases, the Ulema were narrow, fanatical and ignorant. They hindered toleration in religion, opposed all progress, and supported repressive measures. They forgot that all human beings—whether Hindus or Muslims—were equal in the eyes of God.

For the purpose of administration the whole empire was parcelled out into a number of small jagirs, each under a feudal baron wielding extensive powers within his jurisdiction. His duties consisted of maintaining peace and order in his jagir, realizing the revenues from the tenants, sending the surplus to the royal treasury and rendering military assistance to the king, whenever he needed it.

The jagir was the unit of administration and government was not brought down to the level of the village. The village remained untouched and the panchayats were not utilized. The villages, however, continued their existence amidst the confusion and chaos that went on around them.

The administration of justice was considered a royal prerogative and even the most worthless Sultan used to set apart a day for it. He was assisted by Qazis and Muftis. Criminal law was crude and severe and punishments were barbarous and cruel. The guilt of the criminal was established by various ingenious devices and the ordeal was frequently used. The administration of justice was efficient and it was possible for the Hindus to receive justice even against the Muslims. The organisation of the army

was not much developed. They were not well-disciplined and regularly drilled standing armies. The Imperial army consisted of the Imperial troops stationed in the capital and the quota sent by his jagirdars and by his Hindu allies, if any. To check corruption Alauddin branded the horses and held musters. But after his death the regulations were not strictly enforced.

During this period the country presented more the appearance of a military camp than a well-governed empire. The division of the Imperial territories into numerous jagirs was the main drawback of the system. There were no bonds of sympathy between the jagirs and their sovereign nor between the latter and the masses. Everything depended upon the personality of the ruler. As long as the ruler was strong administration went on smoothly. The slightest change in the personality of the ruler was attended by serious risings and sometimes by the downfall of the empire. Some of the rulers like Alauddin and Muhammad Tughluq realized the defects of the jagir system and abolished it, but it was revived by their successors.

Art of the Period

During this period architecture continued to flourish as before. The Hindu master-builders continued to build for their new masters as they had done for the Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. They modified the style and decorative suggestions to suit the belief of the Muslims in one God and their strict uncompromising rejection of image worship. The so-called "Pathan" architecture forms a new link in Indian architecture, and can be traced back to the best traditions of Mauryan art. It is a characteristic product of the soil and not a foreign importation.

The Delhi Sultans were great patrons of architecture, and their reign ushered in an era of progress and expansion. The buildings of the period show a fine blend of the Saracenic and Hindu styles. A large number of buildings in existence testify to the generous patronage of

the Sultans of Delhi. The Hindus possessed an independent and highly developed art of their own, and when the Muslims entered their country they were struck with the grandeur of the conception and designs of buildings in India. Mahmud of Ghazni greatly admired the style of these buildings, and took a number of craftsmen from India to his capital, which Indian architects changed into a palace of Art.

Though the Muslim invasions of India began as early as 637 A.D., it was not till the establishment of the Muslim Empire in India that a proper development of architecture took place. Qutbuddin and Iltutmish set examples which were zealously followed by their successors. Their buildings have the simplicity, symmetry, and delicacy which we associate with the exquisite models of the Saracenic style, while they exhibit also the striking and imposing effect which the best type of Hindu architecture produced on Muslim art. The Quwwatul Islam mosque was founded by Qutbuddin in 1192 to commemorate the capture of Delhi and was dedicated to the might of Islam. Additions were made to it in 1198 by Qutbuddin himself, in 1230 by Iltutmish, and later on by Alauddin. The Qutb Minar was also begun by Qutbuddin and Iltutmish completed it. It is named after the famous saint, Qutbuddin of Ush, a place near Baghdad, and is a very graceful expression of piety and devotion. It is 242 feet high and is a marvel of architectural skill, and has been called "the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere." Qutbuddin also laid the foundations of a mosque at Ajmer which is known as "Arhai-din-ka Jhopra." Iltutmish's tomb is the oldest of its kind in India.

Between the death of Iltutmish in 1236 and the accession of Alauddin in 1295 the story of architecture at Delhi is a blank. Alauddin Khilji is generally remembered for his imperialistic policy; he was also a great builder and he found time to build extremely fine buildings. The fort of

Siri and the palace of Hazar Situn were constructed in his reign and show a distinct advance in the Indo-Muslim architecture. The Alai Darwaza, constructed in 1311 is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture and displays the so-called Pathan style at its perfection.

A change in the style of buildings was introduced by the Tughluq dynasty. Instead of ornamentation we find simplicity and massiveness. Of the buildings of the Tughluq period the ruins of Tughluqabad still serve as a noble memorial of the Tughluq art. Firoz Tughluq was a great builder and spent enormous sums of money on the construction of towns, palaces, mosques, tanks and gardens.

When the Tughluq Empire broke up, architecture languished, and Delhi was deserted by the craftsmen, who fled, and found protection, honour and patronage in the courts of princes who had set up independent kingdoms for themselves. Therefore, with the exception of a few tombs of kings and nobles, *e.g.*, the tombs of Bare Khan and Chhote Khan, and one mosque known as Moti ki Masjid built by the prime minister of Sikandar Lodi, there are no good specimens of architecture at Delhi. The break-up of the Tughluq Empire in Northern India led to the foundation of various independent kingdoms where architecture made great progress. Here also we find a happy blend of Hindu and Muslim elements. The Sharqi kings of Jaunpur gave great encouragement to architecture, and the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur are admired by all lovers of architecture. At Jaunpur, three mosques still remain tolerably entire. The Atala mosque commenced by Sultan Ibrahim is the most ornate and beautiful; the Jam-i-Masjid built by Husain Shah is the greatest, and the Lala Darwaza mosque the smallest.

But finer than the above are the buildings of Bengal with their curvilinear roofs and pointed arches. The Adina mosque built by Sikandar in 1368 at Pandua, the Ekdalah and Barah Sona mosques built by Sultan Nusrat

Shah at Gaur are some of the most beautiful specimens of Bengal architecture. The two capitals of Malwa, Dhar and Mandu, are rich in buildings. The most noteworthy among them are the Jam-i-Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal and the tomb of Hoshang Shah.

Of all provincial styles, the Gujarat style is the most beautiful. It was greatly influenced by Jain architecture. Ahmad Shah was a great builder as is shown by the Jam-i-Masjid built by him. The mosque of Muhafiz Khan shows both grace and symmetry. In this provincial kingdom one also finds step-wells (e.g. at Asarwa) and public gardens.

In the Deccan the Bahmanides were great builders. They constructed a large number of mosques and colleges and founded numerous towns, of which Bidar is highly praised by contemporary observers. A large number of forts was also erected during this period. The example set up by the Bahmanides was followed by the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. Their buildings are scarcely inferior to any in India in grandeur of conception and boldness of design. They also built colleges and libraries, which are now in ruins.

In the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar we find great building activity displayed by its rulers. They were very fond of building council chambers, irrigation works, palaces and a large number of temples. The most noteworthy temple of Vijayanagar was the Vithala temple, which is a remarkable specimen of the Dravidian style. It was begun in the reign of Krishna Deva Ray, but could not be completed.

Painting

The story of the art of painting, however, does not compare favourably with that of architecture. Though the Hindus showed their excellence in this art and their specimens of mural paintings have survived the ravages of time in the caves of Ajanta, the art of painting seems to have received a setback in the Delhi Sultanate period. The explanation is simple. It was due to the lack of patronage on the part of the

Muslim rulers, who, in accordance with the injunctions of their religion, could not allow the painting of animate objects, especially human figures, on cloth or walls. This art, therefore, was neglected, but it did not die out. The few specimens of painting that have been recently discovered, show the art in a decadent state.

Literature of the period

(1) *Classical.* The development of literature in this period may be studied in its manifold aspects. The Muslim state patronized Persian and Arabic scholars and their works were of a high order. The Muslim rulers took special care to leave behind them a record of the events of their reigns, and the works of various court historians are invaluable sources of our information. Minhajus Siraj, Ziauddin Barain, Amir Khusrau, Shams-i-Siraj Afif, and Yahya bin Ahmad were historians of great eminence. Among the letter-writers of this period, the name of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani sheds lustre on the science of history. His "Insha-i-Mahru" is a collection of letters and despatches which give us a glimpse of the nature of official correspondence of those days. The study of jurisprudence also found favour with the learned, and several works on the subject are still extant. Among the Persian poets of this period three may be mentioned. The greatest of these was Amir Khusrau. He was born in Patiali in 1254 A.D. when Nasiruddin was on the throne of Delhi and Balban was his prime minister and power behind the throne. His father died when he was only seven. The boy had an innate aptitude for writing verse, and by the time he was twenty he made poetry the chief vocation of his life. His first patron was Malik Chajju, nephew of Balban, whose service he entered in 1277 A.D. Then he transferred his services to Bughra Khan and when the latter was appointed to the Government of Lakhnanti, after the suppression of Tughril's rebellion, Khusrau took leave of his master and came to Delhi. Here he became attached to the entourage of

Sultan Muhammad, the Emperor's eldest son, Governor of Multan, known to later generations as the Khan-i-Shahid. Sultan Muhammad died in harness when resisting a Mongol raid. Khusrau was taken captive but he fled. He wrote an elegy on the martyred prince, which for its deep pathos and fine feelings, remains a literary gem. The elegy won him widespread popularity among the masses. Khusrau's poems were now sung in the cottage, cloister and the palace. Having enjoyed the patronage, sometimes guiding, sometimes liberal, of Kaiqubad, Jalauddin Khilji, Alauddin, Qutbuddin Mubarakshah, and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah, the poet died in 1325, at the ripe old age of 71. Amir Khusrau was a junior contemporary of the famous poet Sheikh Sadi of Shiraz. Like his illustrious contemporary he was a poet of the highest genius. He was a very prolific writer and a number of works are credited to him. His contemporary, Mir Hasan Dehlwi, was another Persian poet of eminence. His Diwan is a shining proof of his poetic gifts. In 1327, two years after Khusrau's death, he died. Badr-i-Chach was an important poet of Muhammad Tughluq's reign.

The Muslim scholars did not confine their literary activities to their own classical and religious literature. Occasionally attempts were made to study Hindu Sanskrit works also. We have seen that Alberuni was a great Sanskrit scholar. When Firoz Tughluq conquered the Kangra fort, he found therein a Sanskrit library. By the royal orders a translation of a work on philosophy and omens was made by Maulana Izuddin Khalid Khan. It is known as Dalayal-i-Firoz Shahi. Similarly in the reign of Sikandar Lodi a Sanskrit work on medicine was translated into Persian by Main Bhua. It is well-known as "Tibb-i-Sikandari." Likewise some Muslims made valuable contributions to the growth of vernacular literature as will be shown later.

Even in the darkest times of this period when the smaller states endeavoured to become independent of Delhi we

find literature patronised with zeal and enthusiasm. The courts of Jaunpur, Bengal and Gujarat were famous centres of learning and talented men came there from the remotest corners of the world.

Yet the growth of Sanskrit literature proceeded apace. The centre of its development shifted from the north to the south. In the north, too, in parts far away from the Muslim influence several scholars were born in Mithila. The study of *smiritis* and grammar received encouragement.

Commentaries on various systems of Hindu philosophy were also attempted. Vidyapati Thakur, who is better known as a Hindi poet, was also a Sanskrit poet. In the Deccan, especially in Vijayanagar, a band of renowned scholars produced works of high order. The brothers Madhava Vidyaranva and Sayana composed works which are monuments of Sanskrit scholarship. The former wrote his famous commentary on the Vedas, the latter composed several treatises on Metaphysics or Darshan. Vedanta Desika, who gave the final shape to Vaishnavism in South India, was the author of about one hundred and twenty works, Tamil as well as Sanskrit. Several sectarian Bhashyas or commentaries on Badarayan's Brahmasutra were written in this period from the standpoint of theism, a belief in a personal God, and attacking Shankara's monism. While Balban was evoking order out of chaos in Northern India, by striking down the Mongols and subduing the Hindus, Madhavacharya reigned supreme in the Deccan and worked out his philosophy in standard works of enduring merit. The Bhagwat Purana (900 A.D.) became the Bible of the theistic sects and its influence upon the masses and classes can hardly be exaggerated.

Vernacular Literature

Vernacular literature received a great impetus during this period. Its progress was probably due to a decline in Sanskrit scholarship and the Sanskrit scholar's lack of sympathy with the spiritual cravings and aspirations of the masses.

Of all these vernaculars, Hindi made greatest progress. The early works of Chand Bardai, namely Prithwi Raj Raso, and of Jagnayak, namely Alahkhand, are a mixture of legend, history and romance. They contain, however, numerous passages of rare merit. To Amir Khusrau, who was essentially a Persian poet, credit is given by some scholars for writing some poems in Hindi (Khari Boli) and for composing Khalik-bari a sort of dictionary of Persian and Hindi. The progress of Hindi literature received a great impetus from the revival of the Bhakti cult. The devotees took up the vernacular language of the people for the propagation of their ideas and for preaching to them. It is said that Namadeva and Ramanand preached in Braj Bhasha. Kabir, the founder of the Kabir Panth, composed a number of Sakhis and Raminis in the ordinary language of the masses. Though these are not infrequently obscure, they became very popular among the masses and thus made Hindi religious literature more popular. Nanak too wrote his sayings in a mixed Hindi and Panjabi language. Among the preachers of the Radha-Krishna cult, two names stand out prominently. Vidyapati Thakur of Mithila wrote his songs in Maithil Hindi, and Mira Bai in Rajasthani Hindi. Their songs are the genuine outpourings of a devotee and are very popular among the Hindi speaking people. To preach Sufi doctrines to Hindus, Qutban and Manjban wrote their works in Awadhi Hindi.

In Bengal, the Bengali language and literature developed partly because of the efforts of the people and partly because of encouragement by some Muslim rulers. Krittivasa translated the Sanskrit Ramayana into Bengali in the 14th century. A courtier of Nusrat Shah, Maladhar Basu, began the translation of the Bhagwat in 1473. Kavindra Parameshwara translated the Mahabharata into Bengali at the command of a general of Husain Shah, named Parangal Khan.

In Gujarat, the Gujarati literature developed in the time of the Muslim rulers. The most important of the Gujarati poets was Narsi Mehta whose Haramala is a collection of beautiful devotional lyrics. In the Deccan, in Maharashtra, a number of saints and poets developed the Marathi literature. Namdeva and Ekanath composed their Abhangs (hymns) in Marathi and the great Marathi commentary on the Gita was written by Gnaneshwar. They bear ample testimony to the remarkable progress of vernacular verse-writing.

Religion: The Rise of the Bhakti cult.

In its broadest aspects, religion in India is divided into two categories—Islam and Hinduism. The latter was the religion of the people, the former of the state, and hence its influence. The leading exponents of Islam were the ulemas, but some of the rulers like Alauddin and Muhammad Tughluq took independent views. Islam recognizes no priesthood; it regards all Muslims as brothers, consequently, caste distinctions do not exist among the Muslims. Though equality in the eyes of God is its cardinal doctrine, yet caste distinction soon grew up within its fold.

The Muslims came to be divided into Sheikh, Sayyid, Moghul and Pathan. The distinction between the Shiahs and Sunnis was of a difficult nature. The orthodox interpretation of the Quran and belief in one God gave place to the worship of saints and their tombs and the help of the latter was sometimes invoked with equal fervour. Among the Muslims there was a large number of Sufis. Soon, various schools or orders of Sufis arose who renounced the world and aimed at communion with God. They aimed at realizing godhead in man and they led a life of extreme poverty and rigorous discipline. Devotion to and love of God and the service of humanity were the chief articles of their faith. They followed the Muslim hosts and settled themselves in important places, where they soon built up great influence. They were organised in

orders, the chief of which were the orders of Chishtia, the Suhrawardia and the Qadiria. Sufism made rapid strides in India as its doctrines made an irresistible appeal to the people, Baba Farid of Pak Patan in the Punjab, Nizam-uddin-Aulia of Delhi, Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan and Mohammad Ghaus of Gwalior were some of the greatest Sufis of this period. They were loved by Muslims and Hindus alike. The progress of Islam is partly due to the pious work of these saints, as well as the preachers and missionaries who were sent from famous schools of learning.

On the eve of the Muslim invasion an elaborate and complicated ritual had grown up among the Hindus. The impact of Islam produced a profound effect, and the influence was mutual. A number of religious reformers who were born at this period, attempted to clarify the doctrines of Hinduism and to introduce more simplicity into it. The cardinal feature of their teaching was devotion to one God, to be worshipped either in the form of Rama or Krishna. They believed that they could attain salvation only by the grace of God. This was the essence of the Bhakti cult.

The growth of the Bhakti cult was greatly helped by the influence of Islamic teaching. Its origin can be traced back to the Upanishads and the Bhagwata Gita. In the 8th century Shankara Charya's philosophy retarded its growth. According to him, the whole world is unreal. There is only one reality, the supreme soul. Knowledge alone can enable one to realize God. A reaction set in against his teaching in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Ramanuja was the first exponent of the views of those who disagreed with Shankara. He was born about 1066 A.D. and educated at Conjeevaram in the Deccan. He advocated the worship of a personal God Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi. Another reformer who was a contemporary of Ramanuja was Nimbarka, who preached the worship of Krishna. In the fourteenth century Ramanand preached devotion to Rama and Sita. He rejected caste and admitted to his discipleship men of all classes without distinction.

He had numerous followers in the Gangetic plain. The most loved and respected religious reformer of Bengal was Chaitanya who flourished in the early decades of the sixteenth century. He preached worship of and devotion to Krishna. Vallabha Charya, who travelled in the North and South, preached the worship of Krishna as a child. We can trace the influence of Islam in the teachings of Namdeva and Kabir and Nanek.

Namdeva was a saint of Maharasthra. He did not enjoin worship of idols, but recommended the observance of rituals. According to him salvation could be attained by purity of conduct, love of God and devotee's surrender to Him.

The date and parentage of Kabir have not been settled as yet. His teaching was a blend of Hinduism and Islam. He believed in one God; rejected idolatory and the caste system; condemned the ritualism of the Hindus and Muslims; laid great emphasis on morality; and stated that the deliverance of man was possible only through the grace of God. He preached in the Hindi language. He was an apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity. He is reported to have said, "That Hindus and Muslims are of different family is false. Both are pots of the same clay; Allah and Rama are but different names."

Guru Nanak was also influenced both by Hinduism and Islam. It is said that Kabir's ideas considerably influenced his thoughts. He too rejected the caste system and idolatry.

General Remarks

A general survey of the history of the Sultanate period convinces us that it was not so dark as has been painted. It organized administration, built roads, bridges and other conveniences of life; fostered culture, patronized art, encouraged commerce, and established peace. True it is that Hinduism as a political power had been relegated to the background, but as a religion it retained its fervour, nay, it received a further impetus, as may be gleaned from the works of

various reformers. Learning and art flourished, and the culture of India, though interrupted for a short time, received no mean encouragement from the Muslims. It is correct to say that the achievements of the Delhi Sultanate paved the way for the glory of the Moghuls.

One other thing requires more than a passing mention. It is the gradual bridging of the yawning gulf that existed between the Hindus and Muslims.

Slowly but steadily the Muslim learned to regard his Hindu fellow-citizen as his brother, and Muslim rulers conferred upon them offices of trust and honour. Hindu rulers treated their Muslim subjects with the same tolerant spirit. The Hindus and Muslims were gradually united by bonds of mutual friendship and sympathy for one another's religion. Gradually the truth was driven home to the hearts of the masses and even the classes that national unity in face of a common danger was essential and both Hindus and Muslims came to regard the emperor as their chief protection against confusion and disorder. The Bhakti movement under the leadership of such religious devotees, as Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak and Ramanand on the one hand and the various Sufi saints on the other, prepared the minds of the people for the new gospel of love and religious toleration; and religious freedom became the foundation of the new state. This reconciliation between the Hindus and Muslims can be specially observed in the minor principalities that rose upon the ruins of the Delhi Empire. The Hindus placed their offering on the tombs of Muslim saints and the Muslims came to entertain a feeling of respect for Hindu learning and culture. The cult of Satyapir, which flourished in Bengal is a striking proof of the gradual synthesis of the two religions. At Jaunpur Husain Shah, the Sharqi king, was a patron of vernacular literature and Indian art. It was by the orders of a Muslim that Maladhar Vasu translated the Bhagavatgita into Bengali and Kavindra Parmeshwara translated the Mahabharata into the same language.

PART III

CHAPTER I

Foundation of an Empire

The advent of the Moghuls into India was an epoch-making event in the history of the country, and the story of the rise and fall of their Empire is of surpassing interest. There is a proverb which says, 'Rome was not built in a day'. Similarly it took about a century and a half for the Moghuls to extend their sway to its farthest limits. Before their victorious and onward march every obstacle gave way, and every barrier broke down. The reason for this is partly to be traced in their splendid resources and partly in the existing political conditions. A detailed survey of it has already been made in the foregoing chapters, but it will not be out of place to give here an outline of what has been said before.

Roughly speaking, India on the eve of the Moghul invasion was divided into five belts of political importance. The Northern Muslim belt comprised the Lodi Empire which was now tottering to its fall, the kingdom of Bengal, and the various petty chieftains of the Doab. The Northern Hindu belt comprised the numerous principalities of Rajputana, of which Mewar and Marwar were the most powerful, the former prospering under the victorious rule of Rana Sanga who aspired to wrest the sovereignty of Delhi from the hands of the Lodi dynasty. The third was the central Muslim belt including the three kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh, of which the second was losing its former glory. In the south the political successors of the Bahmanides were engaged in a deadly conflict

Condition of India in 1526.

with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which kept up the struggle on almost equal terms till 1565 when it succumbed at the field of Talikota.

There was thus no political unity. The Mussalmans would not combine among themselves, and the Hindu states

BABUR

could not, as they were situated at a distance from each other, and separated by the central Muslim belt. Every state was zealously watching the movements of the other, ready to expand itself at the cost of another and taking a secret pleasure in the defeat of its rival. When Babur

entered the plains of Hindustan he annihilated the Lodi Empire with one blow, and within four or five years made himself master of extensive territories.

Causes of Babur's Invasion

Why did Babur come to India at all? His ambition goaded him into extending his empire after he had made himself master of the small principality of Kabul. He could not achieve his desire either in Central Asia or on the West, so he turned towards the East and India fell an easy prey to his ambition. Secondly, the political condition of India was very encouraging for such an undertaking. Ibrahim had alienated his Amirs by his haughty and cruel conduct and Babur was actually invited by some of them, including Alam Khan, the uncle of the Sultan, and Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Panjab, to put an end to this state of affairs. Thirdly, Babur laid claim to the possession of the Panjab, as it had once been conquered by his ancestor Timur. Finally, the treachery of his Lodi allies convinced him of the necessity of conquering the Panjab and with it the entire Lodi Empire.

Babur's ancestors

Babur is a 'Turki' word meaning brave, and Zahiruddin Muhammad rightly deserved this title. In his veins ran the blood of the two greatest conquerors of the world: Timujin, surnamed Chingiz Khan, and Timur the Lame. On his father's side he was a direct descendant, in the fifth generation, of Timur, while through his mother he could trace his origin in the fourteenth degree from Chingiz Khan. Thus it is no wonder that Babur played the extraordinary role of one of the greatest conquerors of the sixteenth century. Nature had endowed him with the requisite qualities. He had only to utilize them and, like all great men, he rose above his time and stamped it with a hall-mark of his own.

When only a boy of twelve, in A.D. 1494, he was called upon to assume the onerous responsibilities of a ruler.

The sudden death of his father, Omar Sheikh Mirza, left him alone to carry on the administration of such a difficult patrimony as the small principality of Farghana, upon which were focussed the greedy and longing looks of the neighbouring potentates of Central Asia. It was no easy task for the boy-ruler to save himself from the clutches of his own kith and kin and to establish himself on the throne. So long as he lived in his native country he was continuously opposed by his relatives, who thwarted his designs and cut short his ambitions. At the very time of the death of his father, Farghana was assailed on the one hand by his maternal uncle, and on the other by his paternal uncle, and only a freak of fortune saved the kingdom from total extinction.

Early Life

Babur was born to be great, and the early misfortunes in his native country contributed in no small measure to the attainment of that greatness. Even when quite young his mind was filled with projects of a highly ambitious character. His eye was ever turned towards Samarqand, and he looked forward eagerly to the day when he would be able to capture the capital city of his great ancestor. The quick and dramatic disasters which befell that kingdom gave Babur his long-sought-for opportunity. Three years after his accession he was able to realize the dream of his life. He captured Samarqand for the first time in 1497 and his joy knew no bounds. 'Not all his triumphs in Hindustan could eclipse the memory of that day when he entered Samarqand, a victor hardly fifteen years old.'

Triumphs in Central Asia

This glory was as short-lived as it was sudden. A serious conspiracy among the nobles of Farghana and the untimely illness of the conqueror entirely undid his work. Samarqand and Farghana both slipped out of his hands, but after a brief period of wandering Babur recovered his kingdom. No amount of adversity, however, could induce him to

Days of adversity

desist from pursuing his ambition. Once more he made a bid for Samarqand and conquered it from his Uzbeg rival, Shaibani Khan. Circumstances, however, were still against him and in A.D. 1501 he lost his prize a second time and with it his own ancestral kingdom. For the next four years Babur led a life of intense misfortune wandering from place to place and seeking shelter where it could be found. Even his nearest relatives forsook him and refused him help. But hope and courage inspired him and he suffered all with a cheerful countenance, till at last in 1504 fortune befriended him and he was able to conquer Kabul.

Babur in Kabul

The small kingdom of Kabul formed the basis of Babur's exploits. He ruled it for twenty years, but Kabul was too small to satisfy his ambition. Nevertheless he had to confine his activities within limits. There was no room for expansion either in the north or in the east. Shaibani Khan's power was at its height in Samarqand, and Babur was too afraid to encounter him alone, whereas conditions for a successful expedition to Hindustan were not quite ripe. In 1510, however, another opportunity came to Babur to gratify his ambition for the possession of Samarqand. Shah Ismail, the ruler of Persia, defeated and put to death Shaibani Khan and offered a helping hand to the prince of Kabul. Samarqand was occupied for a third time, only to be lost again to the Uzbegs, and it will not be out of place to note that this was the beginning of the relations between the Moghul and Persian Courts.

The Kandahar Question

Henceforward Babur's attention was directed not to the north but to the east. He spent the interval of about ten years in consolidating his position and organizing his resources. He conducted four expeditions to India; it was the fifth which earned him the title of the founder of the Moghul Empire. Of these expeditions two were in the nature of raids, whereas the third and fourth were under-

taken to conquer the Panjab only. One interruption in his onward march towards the east convinced Babur that unless he made his western frontier secure his position was not out of the danger zone. The prince of Kandahar, a kingdom which was contiguous to Kabul, was a restless ruler. Once when Babur was busy in the Panjab, Shah Beg Arghum, the lord of Kandahar, raided his territory. Babur directed his forces towards Kandahar and captured it in 1522, in spite of the threats of the Shah. For the time being the Shah acquiesced in the established fact, but Kandahar formed a bone of contention between the Moghuls and the Persians throughout the history of the period.

Invasions of Hindustan

Altogether Babur led five invasions into Hindustan. As we have noted above the first two merely aimed at reconnoitring the frontier territories, and the third was undertaken to conquer the Panjab. On this occasion, in A.D. 1520, Babur crossed the Indus, captured Bhira, subjugated Sialkot and Sayyidpur, and might have even conquered Lahore but for the interruption which came from the Kandahar side. The fourth expedition was undertaken at the instance of Daulat Khan, the rebellious governor of the Panjab, and at the request of Alam Khan, Sultan Ibrahim's uncle, who fled to the court of Kabul and pleaded his own cause before the prince. Thus the main aim of this expedition was to depose Ibrahim and set Alam Khan on the throne of Delhi. Babur advanced into the Panjab and captured Lahore, but when he showed his determination to keep it in his own hands, his ally Daulat Khan turned treacherous. The invader was not equipped to contend with the Delhi forces without the assistance of his native allies, so he wisely returned to Kabul after making the necessary arrangements in the Panjab.

The course of events in the Panjab inspired Babur with fresh determination, and the treachery of Daulat Khan and Alam Khan showed him the futility of fighting on

another's account. So in A.D. 1525 he made elaborate arrangements for the conquest of Hindustan.

Battle of Panipat

At the head of a large army he entered the Panjab and defeated his former ally, Daulat Khan, who had girded himself with two swords, in token of his resolve either to conquer or die. After this Babur advanced to meet the Sultan of Delhi. The two armies came face to face on the historic field of Panipat where the destiny of Hindustan has been so often decided. Babur's forces though inferior in number, only 8,000 altogether, were far superior to those of his adversary in point of efficiency and equipment. Moreover Babur had the advantage of possessing a park of artillery, a branch of arms at that time not in use in Northern India. Ibrahim's force, 100,000 in number, was badly organized and ill-disciplined, and though he fought valiantly, superior tactics and manœuvres won the day. He, together with 20,000 of his followers, died fighting on the field of battle.

Apart from the number of men killed, the battle of Panipat was, from the political point of view, a decisive one. The Afghan power was broken for the time being, a great impression was made upon the Hindus, the ambitions of Rana Sanga were foiled, and finally a brief period of peace and order dawned. The battle marks the foundation of the Moghul Empire and was the source of the greatest glory to the conqueror. Besides the possession of the Panjab and the Doab, immense treasure fell into the hands of Babur who freely distributed it among his followers, and earned the title of 'Kalandar'. Even the populace of Kabul participated in the general affluence of their prince.

The victory of Panipat did not finish Babur's work, but it was the beginning of a series of expeditions undertaken to subjugate the country of the Doab, his first intention being to subdue the Afghans. But the difficulty of provisioning his army, and sustaining the courage of his men

was a great obstacle in his way. He now appealed to the sentiments of his followers, and delivered a stirring speech to them. The result was entirely satisfactory. All his officers, with a few exceptions, determined to support their master.

Babur's courage

While he was staying at Agra organizing his resources, and directing the eastern campaigns, he heard the unwelcome news that the Rajputs were advancing rapidly and had captured Biana and Gwalior. He immediately set his house in order and declared a holy war against his heathen enemies. Rana Sanga, when he found the prospects of the capture of Delhi and Agra altogether destroyed, organized a confederacy of the Rajputs to drive the Moghuls out of India. He was joined by all the leading states of Rajputana, and with a large army behind him took the offensive.

The Rajputs

Babur took up the challenge. The two armies met at Kanwaha or Sikri, a place a few miles from Agra. The battle between the Rajputs and Moghuls was keenly fought, but superior tactics and better organization, as at Panipat, carried the day. Thus the battle of Kanwaha was as decisive in its effects as that of Panipat. The Rajput confederacy was broken, and its menace disappeared for the time being. The power of Mewar declined and that of Marwar began to grow. The Moghul supremacy became firmly established, and Babur had to face no mighty enemy in the field.

Consequences of Kanwaha

During the three years which elapsed between the battle of Kanwaha and the day of his death in 1530, Babur was engaged in an almost continuous series of military operations for the safeguarding and extension of his dominions. In 1528 he captured Chanderi. While busy conducting a campaign in Malwa, the eastern frontier of his dominions was threatened by the rebellious Afghans. Babur hastened to Kanauj and having dispersed the rebels on the Ganges, returned to Agra to enjoy a well-earned

Malwa and the Ganges

repose. Ranthambhor had now surrendered to the Moghuls and Babur thought that his work in India was over.

He, however, sent Askari, his third son towards the east to manage the affairs in those regions and to watch the Bengalis. In January 1529, a message of submission convinced Babur of their pacific intentions. But the Bengalis were secretly helping the pretender Mahmud, son of Sikandar Lodi, and a few weeks after the arrival of the ambassador, news of the capture of Bihar by the Afghans put Babur on his guard. He hastened eastwards and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Bengalis at the battle of Gogra. This was his last campaign, and he returned to Agra for rest.

The Afghans and Gogra

Babur's health was now fast declining and the occasion was seized upon by his prime-minister to hatch a palace-conspiracy to deprive Humayun of the throne of Delhi. The latter, however, who was at Badakhshan, was advised of what was taking place and hastened to Agra. The whole plot, through an indiscretion, fell to the ground, and Humayun was sent to his *jagir* in Sambhal to settle affairs there. During the hot weather of 1530 he fell dangerously ill. He was brought by water to Agra in a very perilous condition. Babur was greatly distressed, and after taking counsel with the wise he determined to offer his own life as a ransom for that of his son. He walked three times round the sick-bed, and then exclaimed that he had borne away Humayun's sickness. He did not, however, die at once, but was ill for two or three months. Suddenly he took a turn for the worse, and died of an acute disorder of the bowels on Monday, December 26th, 1530. His last message to his son and successor was, 'Humayun, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers. . . . Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.' And right loyally, to his own disadvantage, did Humayun obey his father's dying charge.

Babur's last days

Babur's character and achievements

From all that has been said above it will appear that Babur was a man of resolution and will. Even the most trying misfortunes could not break his heart. He bore them very cheerfully and coolly. His military exploits in Central Asia and India entitle him to rank as one of the greatest conquerors of the world; and certainly he was the founder of the Moghul Empire in India, in the sense that he established the claims of the Moghuls to the Delhi throne. But the structure which he built in India had no firm foundation. He was a born general and military tactician, but knew not how to consolidate his conquests. He followed the time-honoured practice of dividing his Empire into separate fiefs each governed by an autocratic and semi-independent military chieftain. They were submissive to their master only so long as he was near enough to impose his will upon them. The presence of Babur was the only uniting force, and the removal thereof was followed by a crash. Humayun was not strong enough to keep his Empire intact. Apart from political considerations, Babur's personality was charming. He was a brilliant conversationalist, a poet of no mean order, and a scholar of Turki and Persian. He has written his autobiography which is considered to be one of the best books of its kind. It is frank, vivid and very interesting. It gives us an insight into the character of the writer, and of the men with whom he came in contact. It is known as 'Tuzak-i-Baburi' or 'Memoirs of Babur'.

Humayun's early life and character

Humayun was born in 1508 in the mountain citadel of Kabul. Very little is known of the details of his early life. He has written no memoirs of his own, nor does his father or any other contemporary writer give much information on the subject. When we are introduced to Humayun, we find him a grown up young man of mature habits. After finishing his elementary education he received instruction

in history and religion, cultivated a good taste in literature and verse-making, and became a skilled shot and a finished swordsman. He was naturally quick-witted, generous and sympathetic, but wanting in perseverance and mental balance. He was inclined towards mysticism, and knew little of the ways of the world. Irresolution and impracticability are the outstanding traits of his character, and he had to suffer much owing to his misguided generosity and yielding temperament. He attracts our attention not because of any brilliant achievements but because of his troubled life. He deserves compassion more than admiration.

Humayun's difficulties

As an administrator Humayun never achieved any significant success. The first charge which he held was that of Badakhshan, and he was more loved there than respected. As a ruler of India his difficulties were of a different nature. In the first place he had to keep the vow to his father, and it was to comply with the wishes of the latter that he divided his territories among his brothers. Kamran was given Kabul and Kandahar, Askari was given Sambhal, Hindal received Alwar, and Sulaiman Mirza, a cousin of the Padshah, was confirmed in the possession of Badakhshan. All of them turned traitors to their benefactor. Kamran deserted his brother at a critical moment, Hindal and Askari never missed an opportunity of doing mischief, and Sulaiman continued to be a troublesome foe up to the reign of Akbar.

But his kinsmen were not the only enemies to be encountered. In the troubled waters of Indian politics many a chief was rising into prominence. The Moghuls were new comers and had not as yet enlisted national sympathy; the Afghans were still moving about at large and Mahmud Lodi was determined to recover his lost dominions, whereas Sher Shah was getting ready in Bihar to baulk the pretender of his ambitions. In the south, Bahadur Shah had long been desiring to make a bid for

supremacy over Rajputana as soon as Babur was removed. He was rich, and became especially dangerous because he employed his wealth in financing the enemies of Humayun in the east. The latter had to fight many enemies single-handed, and as he possessed neither resolution nor the power for quick decision he had to suffer the greatest disaster in the loss of his Empire.

Humayun overwhelmed

The story of Humayun's political career is a bewildering mass of details with 'defeat' writ large on every page of it. His successes were ephemeral. After his accession at Agra, his brother Kamran marched from Kabul, captured the Panjab, and wrested even Hissar Firoza from Humayun's hands. Thus the Padshah was isolated from the most important portion of his territories. Kabul and the Panjab were the recruiting grounds for the Moghul army, and when they passed into the hands of Kamran the doors of fresh additions to it were entirely closed. Humayun had to fight his rivals with a small and ever-diminishing army.

The rise of the Afghans in the east and south made his position insecure. For the time being, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat seemed the most formidable. He had annexed Malwa and was sapping the power of Chitor. Humayun advanced against him and captured Kalinjar, but in the meanwhile the news of a serious rising of the Afghans in the east compelled him to move thither. He inflicted upon them a crushing defeat at Dauroh, but instead of pursuing his victory and rooting out the Afghan menace from Bengal, he returned to waste his time at Agra.

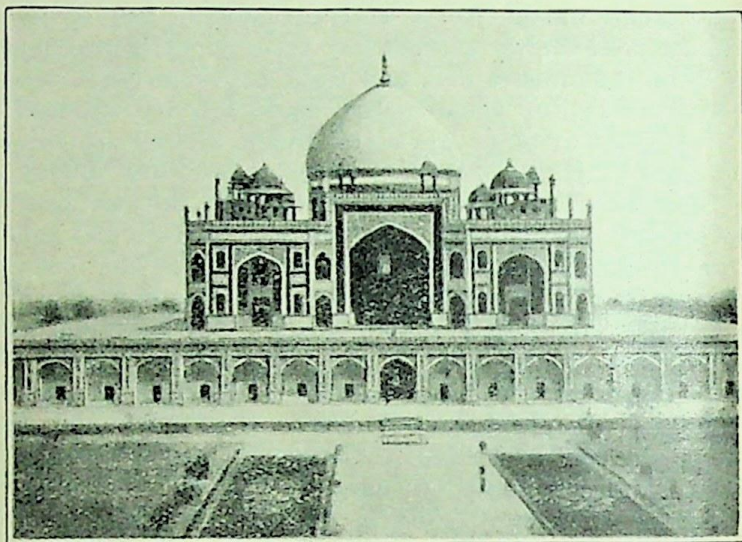
During this interval Sher Khan, the rising star of Bihar, made himself master of Chunar, and Bahadur recruited his strength considerably. Humayun advanced to meet the former and besieged Chunar, but alarming news from the Gujarat side induced him to leave his task incomplete, and entering into a compromise with Sher Khan he proceeded towards the threatened region.

Bahadur was laying siege to Chitor when Humayun arrived to oppose him. He hesitated to attack an adversary who was engaged in crushing the infidels, and thus lost the only chance of inflicting a decisive blow upon him. Bahadur escaped, was followed from place to place, and Gujarat and Malwa passed into the hands of the Moghuls. Humayun wasted much of his time in enjoyment and festivity, and when the news of the advance of Sher Khan in the North reached him, he had to leave Gujarat and Malwa without any satisfactory arrangement for their administration; and these provinces were recovered by Bahadur whose power again became supreme.

Humayun came to Agra and found himself in serious difficulties. He did not know whom to meet first, Bahadur or Sher Khan. Ultimately he decided to advance against the latter. He gained an easy victory. Bengal and Bihar were captured from Sher Khan, but Humayun, instead of making proper arrangements for their administration, fell a prey to sloth and indulgence. The time was usefully employed by Sher Khan, who had retreated to Rohtas, in recruiting his strength and cutting off Humayun from his base at Agra. He recovered Bihar and the country as far as Kanauj. Humayun now realized the situation and advanced to meet Sher Khan, but suffered a crushing defeat at Chausa in 1539. He escaped to Agra, returned with a hastily collected army and fought another engagement with Sher Khan at Kanauj in 1540 with practically the same result. He was pursued to the farthest limits of the Panjab, and Sher Khan proclaimed himself the ruler of Delhi and Agra.

Humayun's exile

Humayun was now a homeless wanderer. From the Panjab he went to Sind, and thence to Rajputana, whither he was invited by the Rana of Marwar who promised to give him an asylum. He went there, but Sher Shah would not allow him to stay. He threatened the Rana and demanded the surrender of Humayun on pain of annihilation. The Rana,

however, did not prove so mean, but allowed Humayun to escape to Amarkot as a guest of Rana Prasad. While staying there his son, Akbar, was born in October 1542. Some indiscretion on the part of his followers made his stay there impossible, and he fled towards Kandahar. But there Kamran had prepared a trap for him, and it was only by chance that he was able to avoid capture.

TOMB OF HUMAYUN AT DELHI

Humayun in Persia

From Kandahar Humayun passed into the Persian territories. There he was welcomed by the reigning sovereign Shah Tahmasp, son of Shah Ismail, the friend and late rival of Babur. The Shah showed every mark of courtesy to the exiled prince, and Humayun lived there peacefully. Ultimately Tahmasp agreed to help Humayun to recover his kingdom, and in return for his help he asked for the cession of Kandahar, a promise which Humayun did not fulfil.

Humayun, accompanied by 1,200 Quzalbash soldiers, proceeded to Kandahar, and captured it, but made excuses when asked to cede it to the Shah. Thereafter Kabul was taken from Kamran, whose repeated treachery was a source of trying misfortune to Humayun.

Humayun's return

During his stay at Kabul Humayun had the satisfaction of seeing the total annihilation of his treacherous brothers and of the consolidation of his position. Meanwhile the Sur Empire was running the brief span of its political supremacy, and conditions were ripening to make the return of Humayun possible. Accordingly, in 1555, when Hindustan was distracted by the mutual recriminations of the rival Sur claimants, Humayun came and won back his Empire. He did not live long after his victory, and one day when he was standing on the staircase of his library, the sound of Azan made him hasten his descent to join the prayers. His stick slipped and he fell down the stairs never to rise again. He died in 1556 leaving a doubtful empire to his successor Akbar.

CHAPTER II

A Glorious Usurpation

Sher Shah was the leader of the Afghan national revival in India. He was descended from an ordinary inhabitant of Roh with no pretension to blue blood, and it was simply his military genius and personal valour that enabled him to rise to the position of one of the greatest monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. His grandfather, Ibrahim Sur, migrated to India in the early years of Sultan Bahlol's rule and received a small *jagir*. Ibrahim died and the pargana of Narnaul in the district of Hissar Firoza was conferred upon his son, Mian Hasan. It was within the auspicious city of Hissar, that Farid, the first child of Hasan, and the future monarch of India, saw the light of day.

Ancestry

The early years of Farid's life were spent in Sahasram, a small *jagir* in Bihar, whither his father migrated on the transfer of his master to the governorship of Jaunpur. As a child Farid had the misfortune to forfeit the affection of his father, who became devoted to a slave-girl. Becoming disgusted with his family affairs he fled to Jaunpur where he equipped himself thoroughly for his future career. He made himself master of Arabic and Persian and gained an insight into the revenue and financial aspects of administration. Ten years of absolute separation softened the feelings of Mian Hasan towards his son and he was induced to return to Sahasram. The pargana was now committed to his charge and in the performance of his duties he displayed a rare capability and a keen intelligence. His success excited the jealously of his stepmother who was able to contrive his second expulsion from Sahasram. Farid now

Early Life

took refuge in Agra and returned to his pargana only after the death of his father.

Deputy Governor-ship of Bihar

But Farid was not allowed to live peacefully in his pargana. The enemies of his father were, on behalf of his step-brothers, threatening his death. The uncertainty of affairs at Delhi, and the general insecurity to which it gave rise, put Farid on his guard. He found his saviour in the person of the rebellious Governor of Bihar and transferred his allegiance to him. It was during his period of service in Bihar that he earned the title of Sher Khan, and after receiving this distinction he was appointed to settle the revenue affairs of the province, and to educate the heir-apparent. Shortly after this, his master died and was succeeded by his young and inexperienced son. He fell a prey to the evil advice of a court-party which wanted to get rid of Sher Khan. Their failure to achieve that object induced the young prince to go to Bengal and to ask the help of his neighbour. The attempts of Bengali generals to defeat Sher Khan were fruitless, and the latter became the independent master of Bihar and wielded undisputed power and prestige.

Sher Khan and the Moghuls

So long as Babur lived Sher Khan did not raise his head; on the contrary, on one occasion he seems to have entered the service of the Moghul Emperor. However, with the death of Babur the fear of a superior power was altogether removed, and Sher Khan began to do as he liked. But he did not break his connection with the Moghuls, though secretly he was aiming a blow at them. He sided with the Afghans only once, at Dauroh, but on that occasion he is said to have played a treacherous part which resulted in the defeat of his fellow tribesmen. It was the capture of Chunar which roused the suspicions of Humayun, who advanced to punish Sher Khan for his audacity. But loyal protests and offers of submission to

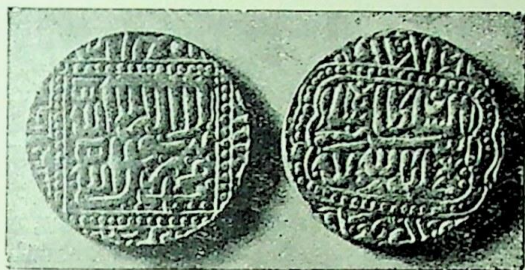
the Moghuls induced Humayun to return to another scene of warfare. How Humayun's stay in Malwa and Gujarat was utilized by Sher Khan to his advantage has already been shown in the previous chapter. When the Moghul sovereign turned his attention for the second time against the sworn enemy of his race, Sher Khan had acquired a firm footing in the country by the capture of Rohtas, the famous invincible fort. He bowed low before the tempest of Humayun's advance, only to rise again with greater energy and to render his adversary a homeless wanderer. Chausa and Kanauj decided the fate of the Moghul Empire, and confirmed the growth of Sher Shah's power and influence. The Delhi sovereignty changed hands.

Sher Shah as Emperor

Although the period of Sher Shah's independent sovereignty was brief, it showed wonderful activity. Not only was his attention directed towards the extension of territory, but consolidation was the chief feature of his ambitious schemes. After the expulsion of Humayun from the Panjab he subdued the Gakkars, and laid the foundations of the famous fort of Rohtas for the purpose of overawing and checking the irruption of the Moghuls. After that Gwalior was captured, and arrangements were made for the subjugation of Malwa. Maldeva, the Rana of Marwar, was terrified into submission and Sher Shah engaged himself with the siege of Kalinjar. In the course of operations there, the Emperor met his death from the sudden explosion of a bomb in 1545.

Adminis-trative reforms

Sher Shah's claim to greatness rests upon his success as an administrator. To run the government on efficient lines, he made vigilance and easy access his guiding principles. Unlike his Turkish predecessors he organized his administration from the bottom to the top, the unit being a village. The villages were grouped into parganas, each under the supervision of a government officer. The village headmen were made responsible for the detection

of crimes. One-third of the produce was fixed as the rent of land; the basis of assessment was measurement; and strict rigour was exercised in collecting it. Every effort was made to check embezzlement and corruption among officers. The rayats were allowed access to the Emperor, and could vent their grievances before him. Rough and ready justice became the order of the day. The Qazi and Mir Adal decided criminal and civil cases respectively. Sher Shah also trained his army to the highest pitch of efficiency, and utilized it in the interests of his people. To facilitate commerce and general traffic, he constructed

GOLD COIN OF SHER SHAH, SURI, 1540–45

a large number of long roads, with trees on either side of them, and serais, at a distance of a *Kos* each, for the comfort of travellers. The Grand Trunk road is a monument of his administrative efficiency.

Estimate of Sher Shah

Judged by his achievements, Sher Shah was undoubtedly the greatest man of his time. He possessed a strength of will and resolution which were denied to his compatriots. Hence his sudden rise to power. His career in some respects bears a strong resemblance to the first Moghul Emperor of Hindustan, and sometimes even surpasses it. Babur was the son of a prince, and Sher Shah merely the forlorn offspring of a petty *jagirdar*. As such, he had to create all the elements of sovereignty, and to strengthen his position amidst the chaos and disruption of the

political atmosphere, and the persecution and indifference of his domestic circle. But fortune befriended him, and even the greatest obstacles proved a source of distinct strength to him.

Successors of Sher Shah

The sudden death of Sher Shah brought the question of succession to a head. The second son, being nearer, was proclaimed Emperor, and assumed the style of Islam Shah. The new sovereign was endowed with all the virtues of his father, but suspicion was deeply rooted in his nature. Intelligent and brave, tenacious and resolute, he was feared rather than loved by his followers. He followed a systematic policy of repressing his nobles, and of making himself the sole power in the land. This made the empire a hot-bed of sedition and rebellion, and practically the whole life of the Sultan was spent in suppressing it. In addition to the maintenance, under severest discipline, of an army which made him immeasurably stronger than any of his nobles, he sought, by legislation, to hamper the dangerous growth of power in every possible way. He deprived them of their war elephants, paid the soldiers himself in cash, and organized an elaborate espionage system. But fear alone cannot form the basis of permanence; on the other hand it demoralized the entire administration, and when Islam Shah died in 1554 his Empire began to fall. One important incident of Islam Shah's reign was the arrival of Kamran at his court, and the cold reception of the latter. Kamran returned only to fall into the hands of his enemies.

Adil Shah and others

The disruptive forces were eating into the vitals of the Afghan Empire. The accession of Adil Shah did not improve matters. Hopelessly debauched and entirely indifferent to public affairs, Adil was the wrong man to save the Afghan Empire from destruction. He left the administration in the hands of his minister, Hemu, who was virtually the ruler of the Empire. Rebellions broke out

on all sides and pretenders set up their power. Three claimants disputed the sovereignty of Delhi: Adil, the nominal ruler held Bihar and Jaunpur, Ibrahim Sur held Delhi and the Doab, and Sikandar was master of the Panjab. The discord among the Sur chieftains and their mutual quarrels encouraged Humayun, who advanced with his forces and recovered his Empire in 1555.

Importance of the Sur dynasty

The fifteen years' rule of the Sur dynasty was not altogether barren in its results. It developed valuable political and administrative traditions which were successfully followed by the Moghuls. Various officials received their training in this period, and then passed into the service of the Moghuls to give them the benefit of their experience. Todar Mal was the most well-known of them. The revenue and financial reforms of Akbar had their origin in the system introduced by Sher Shah.

CHAPTER III

Akbar the Great

Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar was born in October, 1542 when his father was living as an exile at Amarkot.

Early Life

His mother was a Persian lady, Hamida Banu Begum, whom Humayun married in Sind. The story how the Padshah fell in love with her is romantic and may be read in contemporary records. The child Akbar was early separated from his parents, when the latter made an escape into the Persian territories, and he remained virtually a prisoner in the hands of his uncle, Kamran. He was recovered by Humayun after the capture of Kabul in 1545.

AKBAR

Education

When Akbar had completed four years, four months and four days of his life he was placed in charge of teachers to be educated properly. The child showed little interest in reading and writing, and the efforts of his best teachers proved of very little use. He had, however, an especial aptitude for acquiring skill in the science of warfare, and became an adept in swordsmanship and horsemanship.

He accompanied his father to India, and after the battle of Sirhind was appointed Governor of the Panjab under the tutelage of Bairam Khan. While busy in extirpating Sikandar he heard the news of the sudden death of his father. To ensure peace, and to reassure the public mind, his guardian Bairam Khan hastily crowned him at Kalanaur, a place in Gurdaspur District. Akbar was only thirteen years of age, and the overwhelming difficulties confronting him, it seemed, would uproot the newly sown seed of the Moghul Empire. But the loyalty and resolution of Bairam Khan were a great asset to the boy ruler.

Political atmosphere

For four years, 1556–60, Bairam Khan conducted the affairs of the Empire with courage and skill. He defeated Hemu, who had occupied Delhi and Agra, compelled the submission of Sikandar Sur, consolidated the position of his master, and enjoyed the greatest confidence and respect at court. He was styled as 'Khan Khanan'. His success was galling to his enemies, and they plotted his downfall. He was dismissed and sent off to Mecca, but evil counsels prevailed, and he broke out into rebellion. The disturbance was quickly quelled, and Bairam once more set off for Gujarat to go to the Holy city. While staying there he was murdered by a blood-thirsty miscreant. His son Abdur-Rahim was taken into favour at court, and received the titles of his father.

Regency of Bairam Khan

It is said that the Moghul Emperor was, for another period of four years, ruled by the influence of women and the administration was left in their hands. During this period Malwa was annexed, and an attempt made to control the Uzbegs and the Mirzas, relatives, but at the same time, rivals of the young Padshah.

Government

After this Akbar began his Imperialistic policy. Territorial expansion was to be its watchword. Condi-

tions, moreover, were quite ripe for the adoption of such a course; firstly, because the neighbouring provinces were seething with discontent, and secondly, because without a consolidated Empire, peace and tranquillity were difficult to restore in northern India. But force was not the only guiding principle of Akbar's conquests. Tact and policy were utilized as much as the huge army itself, and the successes caused by the Moghul Emperor were of a lasting nature.

Expansion of the Empire

Akbar realized early the futility of keeping the natives outside the pale of administrative polity. He saw that the Hindus were as essential for the successful working of government as his Musalman co-religionists. Moreover, the treacherous and rebellious attitude of his Muslim nobility revealed to him the necessity of bringing to his court able and accomplished Hindus, on whose assistance he might fall back in time of danger. Political considerations were not the only factors which determined Akbar's policy of toleration and conciliation. His liberal ideas about religion induced him, at the very beginning of his power, to abolish the pilgrim-tax in 1563 and the *jizya* in 1564.

Akbar and the Rajputs

In his political career Akbar came into contact with the Rajputs and through their agency, he felt that the objects outlined above, could be best carried out. But the Rajputs were noted warriors, who would not easily offer submission, and Akbar made up his mind to conquer their pride by several methods. Force was to be used where it was essential, but more effective than force was the policy of matrimonial alliances enunciated for the first time by Akbar. Defeat at the hands of the Moghuls, as much as a desire to rise in political importance, induced even the haughtiest chieftains of Rajputana, except the Rana of Mewar, to offer their daughters in marriage to the Moghul sovereign. Thus the Rajput

princes, instead of being a stumbling block to the political ambitions of Akbar, served as a source of the greatest assistance to him. Devoted followers, like Raja Man Singh, fought against their own kinsmen to win glory for the Delhi Empire, and their virtues have been extolled in glowing terms by historians.

Amber

In 1562 when Akbar was going on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khawaja Muinuddin Chishti, midway between Agra and Ajmere, he received Raja Bihar Mall, the chief of Amber or Jaipur in Rajputana, who offered his eldest daughter to Akbar in marriage. The nuptial rites were celebrated at Sambhar. Akbar gave her the title of Mariyam Zamani, and subsequently she became the mother of Jahangir. Her nephew Man Singh, the adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das, the heir of Raja Bihar Mall, was taken into the imperial service, and rose ultimately to high office. Raja Bhagwan Das himself was sent on a political mission to Kashmir and served Akbar faithfully. The relations between the Moghuls and the house of Jaipur remained very cordial till the time of Aurangzeb, when his mistaken policy alienated the sympathy of the entire Rajput community.

Mewar

Between Mewar and the Moghuls there had been a long-drawn-out struggle. The prestige of Mewar was lowered after the death of Sanga in 1530. He was succeeded by three princes, two of whom were legitimate sons of Sanga, and the third a bastard relative. Udai Singh, the posthumous child of the Rana, spent a long time in concealment, and was enthroned in place of the bastard in 1541. He was entirely incapable and destitute of the virtues of a sovereign, and brought disgrace to the house of Mewar.

Perhaps it was the inefficiency of Udai Singh, and his weak character which induced Akbar to launch an attack against the Rana, but more inspiring than this was the thought of the glory which would be attained by the

conquest of Chitor. In 1567 Akbar proceeded to capture the 'Key of Rajputana'. Udai Singh fled into the neighbouring forests, leaving the defence of the fortress in the hands of the valiant Jaimal. The strength of the garrison and its resistance tried Akbar's patience severely, and the chance-death of Jaimal brought victory to the Moghuls. The fortress was razed to the ground and the defenders were slain to a man. Udai Singh removed his capital to the newly founded city of Udaipur, where he conducted the affairs of his dilapidated kingdom till his death in 1571–2.

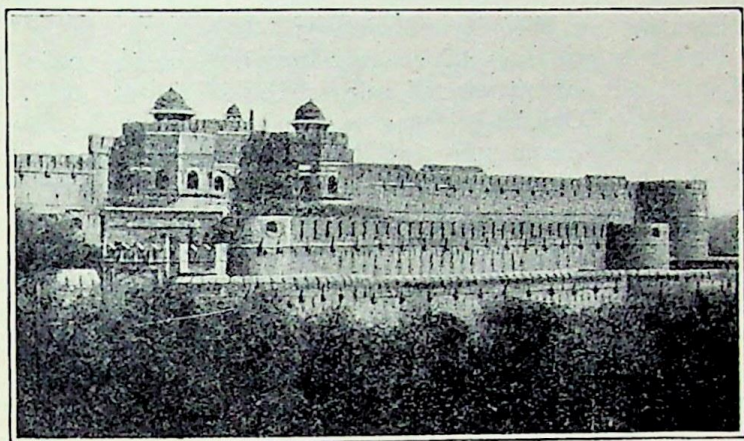
Exploits of Pratap

The successor of the craven Rana was his gallant son Pratap, who offered an uncompromising resistance to the Moghul arms. He recovered the lost territory and vowed he would capture Chitor. His continued success attracted the attention of Akbar, who hastened to curb the power of the rising Rajput. Pratap with his unequal resources fought with the Moghuls for a quarter of a century, and though crushingly defeated at Gogunda or Haldighat in 1576, he did not slacken his efforts to maintain his independence. He succeeded admirably and when he died in 1597 he had the satisfaction of having accomplished his mission. Occupation in another quarter, for the time being, directed the attention of the Moghuls from Mewar, and it was not till late in the reign of Jahangir that the Rana could be compelled to tender his submission.

To complete the picture of the subjugation of Rajputana, it should be noted that after the fall of Chitor Akbar captured in 1569 the second strongest fortress, that of Ranthambhor. This was followed by the submission of the Rulers of Marwar, Bundi and Bikaner, all of whom entered into matrimonial alliances with the great Moghul, and even assisted him in his warfare against Mewar, because they were jealous of the dominant power of the latter.

The Rajputs were not the only power to be reckoned with. Their subjugation was only a part of the grand

schemes of the Moghul Emperor. He must, of necessity, conquer Bihar and Bengal before he could style himself 'Lord Paramount of Northern India.' Sulaiman Kararani, the ruler of Bengal, was loyal to Akbar, but his successor Bayazid shook off the allegiance and stopped sending presents to Agra. This incensed Akbar and he sent an expedition under Todar Mal to subjugate Bengal, and the province was annexed in 1575. Its distant situation made it less amenable to authority, and throughout the period, Bengal remained a hot-bed of sedition and rebellion. The most serious that

Bihar and Bengal

THE FORT, AGRA

occurred in the reign of Akbar was in 1581 when even the safety of the empire was menaced. It was, however, effectively put down and Bengal remained a Moghul province till 1724.

Another province which Akbar conquered about the same time as Bengal (1573) was that of Gujarat. There were several advantages which he saw in undertaking an expedition thither. It commanded a rich trade, possessed the greatest marts, and had

Gujarat

offered an asylum to his enemies, the Mirzas. But his greatest claim upon Gujarat was that it had been conquered by his father. At the head of a well-equipped force he proceeded towards Gujarat to wrest it from the hands of Muzaffar Shah III. He won a signal success there and returned to Agra triumphantly. The Mirzas had been suppressed, and the province was in his hands, but the news of a sudden rising there caused him to return quickly. He covered the entire distance in eleven days and was able to teach a drastic lesson to the rebels. After placing the administration of the province in the hands of Todar Mal, he returned to Sikri, which he renamed 'Fatehpur' or the city of victory.

Orissa

The only province which remained outside the pale of Moghul administration till late in the reign was that of Orissa. It was annexed in 1592 by Man Singh who put down the Afghan chieftains there. The subjugation of Orissa completes the story of Akbar's policy of expansion in Hindustan, and now we may turn our attention to the North-West Frontier.

The importance of the North-West Frontier Problem

The North-West Frontier engaged the especial attention of Akbar for several reasons. The hostile attitude of his half-brother, Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, coupled with the ambitions of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakshan made Akbar pass many an anxious day. The death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 freed Akbar from the danger of a possible rival to the throne and he annexed Kabul. On the other hand the rising power of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, who had recently annexed Badakshan, made Akbar's mind rather uneasy, and compelled him to stay at Lahore for the next thirteen years, till 1598.

Kashmir

It was during this period of his stay in the west that Akbar carried out his further schemes of annexation on the frontiers, his main aim being to round off his territories in those quarters as a check against the possible incursion of his Uzbeg rival. Kashmir

engaged his attention first. The internecine strife prevailing there encouraged him and he annexed the province in 1586.

The Frontier Tribes

The turbulent tribes inhabiting the frontier districts were ever a source of trouble and anxiety to the rulers of Delhi. The nature of their country made their effective suppression impossible. During Akbar's reign the Yusuf-Zis were creating immense mischief. An expedition under Bir Bal resulted in the discomfiture and death of the commander. Man Singh and Raja Todar Mal tried to keep them in check by building 'thanas' in their country.

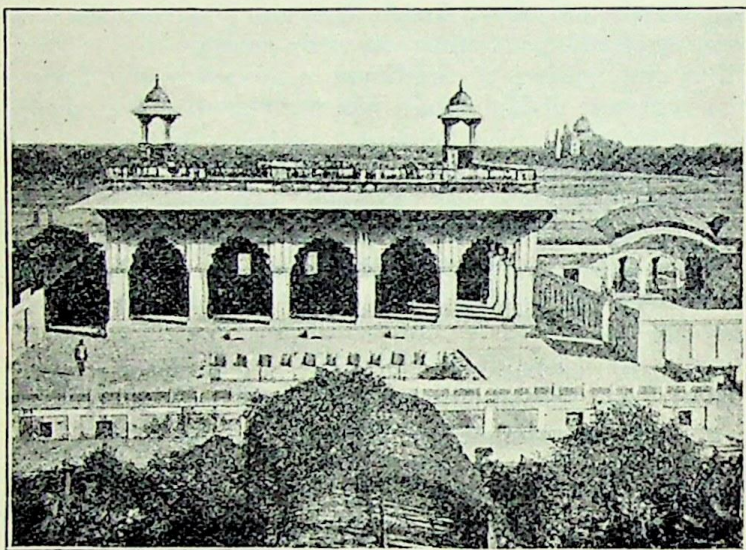
Subjugation of Sind

The subjugation of Sind was a necessary preliminary to the capture of Kandahar, which Akbar had been meditating so long. The charge against its ruler was that he had omitted to pay homage to the Moghul Emperor. An army was sent under Abdul-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, and Sind was annexed in 1591. The ruler entered the service of the Emperor, and accompanied him to the Deccan, where he died.

Capture of Kandahar

Kandahar, as has been indicated in a previous chapter, was a bone of contention between Persia and Delhi. Humayun, in spite of his promise, did not surrender it to the Shah. The latter took advantage of the difficulties confronting Akbar at the time of his accession, and seized the debated territory. He even had the audacity to send a belated embassy to the Moghul court in 1562 to show his sympathy for the late monarch. Akbar, like a diplomat, bided his time; and though he rejected the suggestion of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg to divide the Persian Empire, and showed his readiness to help the Shah in case Abdulla made a move in that direction, he observed no scruples in annexing Kandahar when a proper opportunity presented itself. The Governor of Kandahar surrendered

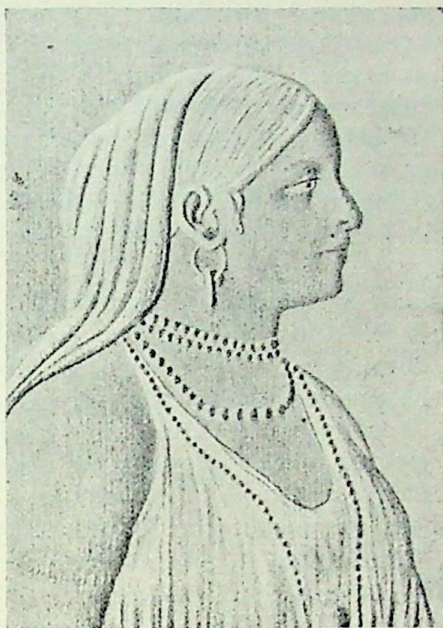
his charge to the Moghul Emperor and became the devoted servant of the latter (1594–5).

The death of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg in 1598 freed Akbar from all anxiety in that quarter. He was now in a position to turn his attention to the southern frontier of his Empire where conditions were not altogether satisfactory. Akbar's advance to the Deccan may be attributed to two causes; first, lust of conquest, and secondly, the disturbed political conditions in the neighbouring kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

The Deccan

AKBAR'S PALACE, AGRA

Earlier in his reign Akbar had made an attempt to get his sovereignty recognized by the Deccan Sultans, and for this purpose had sent embassies to Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Khandesh. Of these only the last tendered an abject submission, the others either sent insignificant

presents or evasive replies. Their misdemeanour, however, could not be punished and they were left free to do as they pleased.

Several expeditions were sent against Ahmadnagar, but the Moghul generals by reason of their jealousy and lack of co-operation, could make little headway in those regions. In 1599 Akbar crossed the Narbada and occupied Burhanpur. An obstinate resistance was made at Ahmadnagar by the gallant Queen-regent, Chand Sultana, but internal dissensions resulted in her murder, and Ahmadnagar was stormed in 1600. The kingdom, however, could not be subjugated till 1636 when it fell into the hands of Akbar's grandson, Shahjahan.

CHAND BIBI

Khandesh

Friendly relations subsisted between Khandesh and the Moghuls, although its ruler later disavowed allegiance to Agra. Akbar himself led an expedition against him and captured the fortress of Asirgarh, partly by force and partly by treachery (1601).

The Portuguese

Akbar first came in contact with the Portuguese during his expedition to Gujarat in 1572. From that time he maintained friendly relations with them, and on several occasions he sent invitations to their Christian missions at Goa to visit him at Agra. Though outwardly religious, the aim of these missions was strictly political. Akbar on his part wanted the help of the Portuguese against the Deccan States, whereas the latter wanted to obtain trade advantages in the Moghul Empire. Much valuable information may be obtained from a perusal of the account of these missions.

Remarks on Akbar's Deccan policy

Akbar's policy in the Deccan contained the germs of disastrous failure. Once the barrier had been broken down, gradual expansion in that direction became inevitable. Thus Akbar, unconsciously mapped out a programme which his successors followed loyally in spite of obvious and serious disadvantages. When the Deccan had been conquered, the Moghul Empire was a broken reed. Aurangzeb merely accomplished what had been begun by his illustrious predecessor.

Constitutional reforms

Akbar was not merely a great conqueror, he was also a far-seeing statesman. He made the best use of the constitutional traditions of his predecessors, improved them and made them conform to a system which will be long associated with his name. He is more famous for his brilliant administrative organization than for his extensive conquests. He understood the needs of his people, and adopted successful methods to meet them.

The army was the main prop of a mediæval empire and so Akbar set about reforming it. He noticed early the weakness of the tribal-feudal system which made the loyalty of a soldier to his master indirect, and divided the entire empire into separate and semi-independent military camps. So he resorted to direct recruitment, every soldier passing before him, and taking an oath of fealty to him. Next he abolished the *jagir* system, and substituted in its place cash-payment, a method which was highly advantageous to the state.

The military system

For the sake of convenience he instituted the Mansabdari system, which means the gradation of service. Altogether, according to Abul Fazl, there were sixty-six Mansabs, beginning from ten and going up to 10,000. A mansab of ten meant that the holder thereof commanded ten horsemen, and so on. Though in theory there were sixty-six, in practice there were only thirty-three mansabs, and service used to begin with the mansab of twenty. Between 7,000 and 10,000 mansabs were reserved for the members of the Royal family, though in the later years of his reign Akbar made an exception in the case of certain nobles.

Strict vigilance was exercised over these mansabdars and every effort was made to compel them to maintain the exact number of men connoted by their ranks. Several methods were devised to check embezzlement and deception; of these the Dagh, or branding regulation, and the muster regulation were the most important. After a fixed interval every mansabdar was required to bring his contingent to be reviewed by the Emperor and his officers, and a special brand or mark was stamped upon their horses. Thus little opportunity was given to military officers to practise dishonesty.

Akbar kept his army at the highest point of efficiency, and maintained every branch of it. The cavalry took precedence over all, the artillery and infantry were of second-

ary importance; of these the last was merely a rabble without reference to rank or file. Akbar took especial interest in personally supervising the casting of guns, and introduced a method of firing them simultaneously.

Revenue and Finance

Akbar paid especial attention to the improvement of his finances. He laid the foundations of a system which has survived the ravages of time; and its relics may still be discerned in the modern revenue organization. Todar Mal's *bandobast* scheme is well known to students of Indian History. The great financier reformed the entire system of revenue collection and made it conform to regulations and order. The whole empire was divided into fifteen Subahs, with a Subedar, a government official, as its executive, judicial and military head. He was assisted by a host of officers of mixed character, but their main function was to collect revenue. As a safeguard against maladministration and embezzlement a general survey of the agricultural land was undertaken, and it was divided into four classes according to the nature of the soil. One-third of the gross produce was fixed as the share of the government, and payment was usually made in cash. All the land now belonged to the state, and the *jagir* system was totally abolished.

GOLD COIN OF AKBAR, DATED FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF HIS REIGN
From Allen's 'Narrative of Indian History.' By Permission.

Justice and Police

For the administration of criminal justice, Qazis and Mir Adls were appointed within important jurisdictions. Appeals from them went to the Emperor; and orders for capital punishment were not executed without the sanction of the latter. In important towns the Kotwal, and in rural areas the

Faujdar, performed police duties. General safety was ensured by making zemindars responsible for the detection of crime within their sphere of influence.

Policy of Toleration: Akbar's religion

Akbar was, probably, the first sovereign of Delhi to practise toleration on an extensive scale. His education was liberal and his intellect comprehensive. He used to convene debates among the advocates of various religions, and gave a patient hearing to their discussions. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that truth in every religion was the same. To give practical shape to his religious ideas, he promulgated certain doctrines known by the name of *Din-i-Ilahi*, which entailed devotion to one God and his representative Akbar, and to the State. His ideas were not acceptable to his people, and his new religion did not survive him. His inclination towards Hinduism has led certain writers to conclude that he was an apostate from Islam. The fact is that Akbar always remained a true Musalman, but of liberal views, hating orthodoxy. It was to increase the efficiency of administration rather than to wound the feelings of his co-religionists that he admitted Hindus to high offices. Even so, the greater number of posts in government service were held by men of his own religion.

Last days of Akbar

The last days of Akbar's life were embittered by a series of misfortunes, the most important being the rebellion of his son Salim. The young prince was weak and irresolute and addicted to drink. Misguided counsel induced him to break out into rebellion, when his father was busy with the Deccan wars. He left Mewar, where he had been sent to carry on operations against the Rana, and went to Allahabad where he proclaimed his independence. The news of his rebellion surprised Akbar and compelled him to cut short his operations against Asirgarh. He came to Agra and made vigorous arrangements to quell the insolence of the prince. He recalled Abul Fazl

How did Akbar treat hindus

from the Deccan to take his advice, but the latter on his way north was murdered by Bir Singh Deva Bundela at the instance of Salim. This grieved the Emperor, but love forbade him to take any reprisals against the real culprit. Salim, however, tendered his submission shortly after, and was nominated as successor by his dying father. Akbar died in 1605.

Character and achievements

It is impossible to discuss within a small compass the character of the greatest monarch of the Moghul dynasty. He was resolute and brave, and possessed a keen and penetrating intelligence. His greatest gift was that at a single glance he could understand the worth of a man. His constitutional and administrative reforms have given him the highest place in the history of mediæval ages. His liberal religious outlook, his policy of toleration, his abolition of the *jizya* and pilgrim-tax, his throwing open service to talent made him loved among his subjects. Akbar should be called the true founder of the Moghul Empire.

The court of Akbar

No account of Akbar's reign will be complete without the mention of the galaxy of intellect which illuminated his court throughout the reign. The 'Nine gems' of Akbar were all renowned personages. Abdul Fazl, an accomplished scholar, a politician of no mean worth, was the conscience-keeper of the Emperor. His advice was considered essential on every matter. He was also the court historian, and his two works *Ain-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* are a mine of information. His brother Faizi was the poet-laureate of the court. He translated several works from Sanskrit into Persian, and his *Gita* is still read with interest by many people. He also composed a *diwan*. He was sent on a political mission to the Deccan. The combined influence of the two brothers is said to have turned Akbar's mind from Islam.

Man Singh was one of the greatest generals of his age. He showed his prowess on several fields of battle. Mewar, Bengal, the North-West Frontier, practically every region, saw his service. He was much honoured by the Emperor. His sister Shah Begum was married to Salim. Man Singh survived Akbar and lived in the reign of his successor.

Todar Mal was the greatest financier of his age. He inaugurated the revenue reforms and set them working. He was a native of Oudh and by caste a Khattri. He was also an efficient general and served in Bengal and in the North-West. He died in the life-time of his master.

Birbal was the jester of the court. Many of his jocular stories have come down to us. He was a constant companion of the Emperor. He met his death in the wild regions of the frontier of India.

Tan Sen was the most renowned musician of the age. He came to the court of Akbar from Bundelkhand. His songs are still well-known.

CHAPTER IV

An Era of Pleasure and Magnificence

Jahangir

Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir was born in 1569. As a prince he was called Salim, after the name of the celebrated saint whose prayers and intercession gave Akbar this long-desired child. When he was four years, four months and four days old his 'Maktab'[1] ceremony was performed. Renowned teachers were appointed to give him instruction in all branches of learning. Salim read a great deal of Persian literature, acquired a knowledge of Turkish, and cultivated an interest in poetry. He even versified his prayers to God. He possessed an inborn love of 'nature' and was always susceptible to its beauties. He was a great patron of painting and the art attained great perfection during his reign.

JAHANGIR

Despite these accomplishments Jahangir cannot be said to have been a successful ruler. The weakness of his

[1] 'Maktab ceremony'—a ceremony observed at the commencement of the education of a child.

character overshadowed his sterling merits. Early in his life his habits were spoilt. His drinking bouts began from the age of sixteen, and these have earned him the title of the 'Pleasure Seeker'. Natural vigour and assiduous sport, however, warded off its real effects till the approach of old age, and the last few years of his life were a period of physical breakdown and intense suffering. He lacked assertiveness and independence of judgment but was wise enough to follow in the footsteps of his father.

Accession : Rebellion of Khusrau

Jahangir ascended the throne on October 24, 1605 in the thirty-sixth year of his age. He signalized his accession with the issue of *twelve edicts* of a general nature. All old officers were confirmed in their posts, and the friends of the new Emperor received promotions and higher honours. Mahabat Khan, Itmad-ud-daulah and Bir Singh Deva all shared the general bounty.

These conciliatory and beneficial measures were of little avail in curbing the trouble which was brewing below the surface. Jahangir's rival was his own son Khusrau. Akbar's love, and the conduct of Jahangir against his father had produced hopes of succession to the throne in Khusrau's mind. Moreover he was supported by a court party led by his uncle Man Singh.[1] Though Jahangir tried to conciliate his son by granting him a proper *jagir* and sufficient maintenance, Khusrau was unable to restrain himself. Shortly after the coronation of his father he fled from Agra towards Lahore. On the way he gathered round him many followers, and at Amritsar received the blessings of the Sikh Guru, Arjun. Jahangir set off in pursuit of his rebellious son, who was ultimately captured and brought to Delhi, where his followers were put to death with extreme brutality. For the next fifteen years Khusrau remained a closely guarded prisoner and

[1] Man Singh—Man Singh's sister Man Bai, surnamed Shah Begum. was married to Jahangir. Khusrau was her son.

was, in 1621, handed over to Khurram at whose instance he was murdered.

Jahangir and the Rajputs

Jahangir continued his father's conciliatory policy towards the Rajputs but against Mewar he was inexorable. Its history for the maintenance of its independence has been traced up to the adventurous career of Rana Pratap. This valiant ruler died in 1597 and was succeeded by Amar Singh. The new ruler was in no way less capable than his predecessor, and strained every nerve to hold his own against the Moghuls till 1613. When his resources were exhausted, recognizing discretion to be the better part of valour, he submitted to Jahangir in 1614. He sent his son Karan to the Imperial court.

The North-West Frontier

The problem on the North-West Frontier was not very acute in the reign of Jahangir. A rising of the Afghan tribesmen was easily put down. There was no danger from the Uzbegs, but the Persians gained a distinct victory in the matter of diplomacy. Kandahar was the bone of contention. It was recovered by Akbar in 1595, and since then the Shah had been waiting for the opportunity to come when the advantage would be on his side. Finally in 1622, when he found Jahangir off his guard, he captured Kandahar. The untimely rebellion of Shahjahan precluded the possibility of its immediate recovery.

The Deccan

When Jahangir came to the throne the position in the Deccan had changed. Much of the jealousy and disunion which characterized the politics of Ahmadnagar and had given an advantage to Akbar, had disappeared. Malik Ambar was now the prime-minister of the Nizam Shahis. He was an Abyssinian by birth but a true Deccani by adoption. He possessed a rare administrative capacity and gave a fresh lease of life to the waning fortunes of Ahmadnagar. He introduced beneficial revenue and financial reforms into the Nizam Shahi Kingdom and thus organized its resources

for a conflict with the Moghuls on practically equal terms. He was the first to realize the value of the light Maratha cavalry and its guerilla tactics.

Throughout Jahangir's reign operations continued against Ahmadnagar, but disunion among the Moghul generals and their susceptibility to bribes brought about no valuable results to the empire. On the other hand Malik Amber recovered much of the territory which had been lost to his master during the reign of Akbar. In 1617, when Khurram, later known as Shahjahan, was appointed to the supreme command in the Deccan, he laid low the power and resources of Amber, and compelled him to agree to humiliating terms. The absence of Shahjahan from the Deccan, and his rebellion in 1622 gave a splendid opportunity to the Abyssinian Minister to regain his lost power. He continued his fight with the Moghuls till his death in 1626.

The great object of interest in the reign of Jahangir was his queen-consort, known to the world as Nur Jahan Begum. Her parents came of a respectable Persian family. Her father, Mirza Ghiyas, came to the court of Akbar and was given a post. He rose steadily in rank and became the Diwan of Kabul in 1595.

Ascendency of Nur Jahan. Her parentage

His daughter Mihrul-Nisa attracted the attention of Prince Salim, when she was living with his mother at court, and he wanted to marry her. Akbar, however, disapproved of the proposal and gave her hand to Sher Afghan, also a Persian adventurer in the Imperial service. Salim continued to cherish a love for her, and married her in 1611, four years after the murder of Sher Afghan in Bengal. Mihrul-Nisa after her entrance into the royal seraglio was christened Nur Jahan or 'Light of the World.'

Nur Jahan was undoubtedly a woman of ability. She possessed a fine intellect and wide comprehension and served as a complement to the weak-minded Jahangir. She was invariably consulted in all affairs of political

importance and her power over the Emperor was so complete, that Jahangir used to say, 'I have entrusted the Empire to Nur Jahan, and I want nothing except one seer of meat and one cup of wine.' To strengthen her position in the court Nur Jahan had created a party of her own. Her father Itmad-ud-Daulah, and her brother Asaf Khan, rose to high rank after her marriage and were the guiding forces of this party. In her private life the Queen was very generous and compassionate, and was ever ready to help the poor and indigent.

Her character

Her ambition to perpetuate her dominance urged her to do things which convulsed the Empire for five years. First she favoured Khurram and raised him to the highest rank in the Empire and to further cement the union she married him to the daughter of her brother Asaf Khan. So Khurram, with the help of Nur Jahan, commanded the entire resources of the Empire and won splendid victories. He subjugated the Rana of Mewar and laid low the power of the indomitable Amber. These achievements raised him in the estimation of his contemporaries, and the Emperor, at the instance of Nur Jahan, nominated him heir-apparent in supersession of the claims of his two elder brothers, Khusrau, now a state prisoner, and Parwez, deemed unfit for sovereignty.

Rise of Khurram

But one empire was too limited in scope for the play of two independent and assertive spirits. The growing popularity of Khurram, now styled Shahjahan, and his haughty and ambitious temperament gave serious cause for anxiety to Nur Jahan. She now began to make plans to bring about the downfall of her former favourite. She married her daughter by Sher Afghan to Shahriyar, the fourth son of Jahangir, and proposed to her husband to send Shahjahan to the Western Frontier where the siege and capture of Kandahar by the Persians necessitated the

Rebellion of Khurram

presence of a capable man. Shahjahan would thus be further away from the court, and his failure there, which was almost certain, would reduce his prestige and lower him in the estimation of the people.

Shahjahan, however, was very shrewd. He saw through the entire plot and to checkmate it put forward some extravagant demands; and made their fulfilment a necessary condition to his departure. These demands, as he foresaw, were refused and so he broke out into rebellion in 1622. Nur Jahan was now in serious difficulties. She did not know whom to send against such a capable general. Ultimately the choice fell upon Mahabat Khan, who had long been out of favour and had been removed to Kabul because he had, on one occasion, reprimanded Jahangir for giving unlimited power to the 'Light of the World'. His rank was raised, he was recalled from Kabul and sent with Parwez to quell the disturbance.

Shahjahan retired to the Deccan, and after having been driven out of Malwa and Burhanpur by the Imperialists with the help of Malik Amber and Qutb Shah, went to Orissa and entered Bengal. He advanced as far as Allahabad, but Parwez and Mahabat again drove him to the Deccan. The prospects for Shahjahan were now very dark and he offered his submission to his father, and sent his two sons Dara and Aurangzeb to the court as hostages for his fidelity.

Rebellion of Mahabat Khan

Nur Jahan now grew jealous of Mahabat Khan. He and Parwez had won brilliant victories against the greatest general of the Empire, and between the two had arisen a great friendship. Parwez certainly was older and more capable than Shahriyar. So first she separated Mahabat Khan from him by posting the latter to Bengal. He was then accused of embezzlement and breach of royal etiquette and called to court to answer the charges. It was now the turn of Mahabat Khan to rebel. He succeeded in capturing both the Emperor and the Queen, but

Nur Jahan with great ingenuity secured both her release and that of her husband. Mahabat fled and joined Shahjahan in the Deccan. This was followed by the death of Jahangir in 1627.

No account of Jahangir's reign would be complete without mentioning the name of Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, who came to the court of the Great Moghul to obtain certain privileges for the newly-formed East India Company. He has left a vivid account of what he saw at the court and in the country. He had an audience of Jahangir at Ajmere and witnessed there the Nau-Roz festival. His impressions show his entire ignorance of the eastern mentality. Commenting on the court of Parwez at Burhanpur he says, 'The place was covered overhead with a rich canopy, and the underneath all carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great stage, and the prince sat above as the mock kings do there.' Again talking of the manners and customs of the country he says, 'A description of the land, customs and manners with other accidents is fitter for winter nights. They are either ordinary or mingled with much barbarism. . . . Laws they have none. Many religions and in them many sects: Moors or Muhammadans adhering to Ali; Banias or Pythagorians; gentiles of sundry idolators, their wives adoring the pile, and entering the funeral fire with great joy and honour.' About the king and the state he says, 'All the policy of his state is to keep the greatest about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. No council, but every officer answers to the king apart his duty. . . . He (the King) is of countenance cheerful. At nights he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation.'

Sir Thomas Roe

As usual in the history of the Moghul dynasty, Shahjahan did not ascend the throne without opposition. He was born in 1592 and was named Khurram by his grandfather who celebrated the occasion with many festivities. His career during the reign of

Shahjahan

Study Page 250

his father was a glorious one though stormy. He won his spurs as a general and statesman, and on the death of his father was the fittest man to succeed him. Being absent in the Deccan his claims were contested by Shahriyar, who was backed up by Nur Jahan Begum, who was not willing to surrender her power easily. Shahjahan, however, had several friends at court who sided with him, and the most notable of them was his father-in-law Asaf Khan. When Shahjahan was still in the Deccan, Asaf defeated Shahriyar, captured him, deprived him of his eye-sight and thus secured the throne for his son-in-law.

SHAHJAHAN

Execution of Princes

When Shahjahan arrived he ordered the execution of all the princes of Akbar's race, and in the words of Kennedy, 'copied to the full extent the custom of Constantinople.' Thus the most magnificent period of the Moghul rule commenced with blood and slaughter. The grandeur of Shahjahan was unsurpassed, and art and culture reached their zenith. This was in a large measure due to the personal character of the Emperor who was a highly edu-

cated man possessing sound judgment and a good knowledge of the world. 'He was the last king to dream of letting religion over-ride statesmanship.'

The political achievements of Shahjahan's reign were of a conspicuous character. The first event of importance was the subjugation of the Bundelas, a warlike race. Their stronghold was captured and their country was conquered. The campaign against the Bundelas was led by Aurangzeb. After their defeat Shahjahan had to deal wtih a rebellion of a very serious nature led by one of his trusty general Khan Jahan Lodi. The rebellion was not suppressed without difficulty and Shahjahan was involved in Deccan politics. His first step was the subjugation of Ahmadnagar in 1636 which, since the death of Amber, had fallen a prey to disorganization and disunion. The barrier to the advance to the Deccan was removed, and its final conquest remained only a question of time.

Political achievements

At this time, the Portuguese were firmly established on the western coast of India. They had also two well-fortified establishments in Bengal, one at Hughli and the other at Chittagong. Shahjahan disliked the Portuguese of East Bengal because they had not helped him during his rebellion. In addition to this, their piracy in the Bay and along the river, and also their proselytizing zeal, contributed to Shahjahan's dislike, and his action against them was perfectly legitimate. Hughli was besieged and captured. Many of the Portuguese were brought as prisoners to Agra and there brutally put to death in 1632.

Shahjahan and the Portuguese

When Shahjahan came to the throne Bijapur was friendly to the Moghuls, and Ahmadnagar and Golconda were against them. The rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi and the steps which were taken to suppress it created complications in that region. In 1636 Shahjahan went to the Deccan, and after the annexation of Ahmadnagar patched

Shahjahan and the Deccan

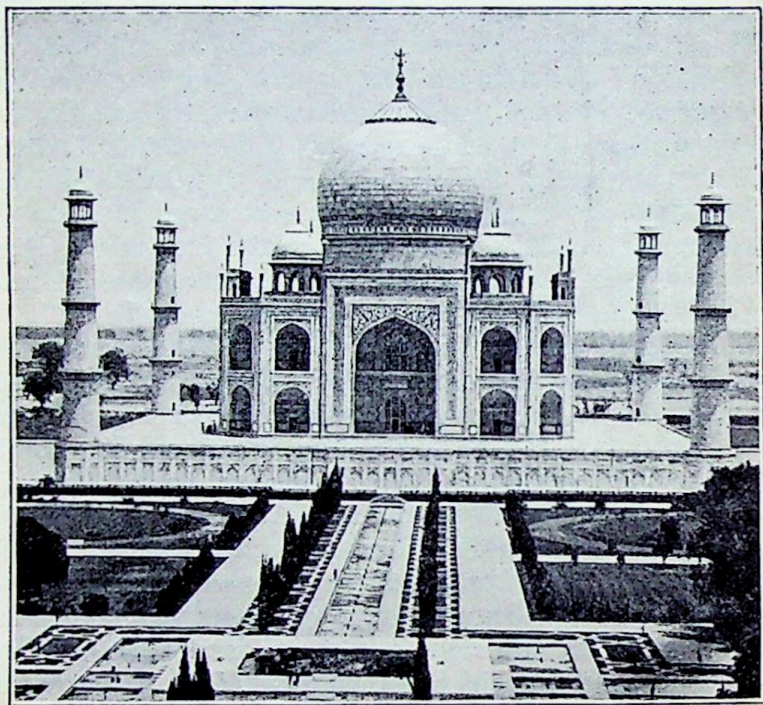
up a sort of peace with Bijapur and Golconda, both of whom agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Moghuls.

The Deccan remained quiet till 1653 when Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy for a second time and inaugurated a policy of active aggression. Qutb Shah was asked to pay up the arrears of tribute, and when he delayed, an expedition was launched against him. The right hand man of Aurangzeb in the Deccan was Mir Jumla, the rebel-lord of Golconda. It was he who laid bare the tottering condition of the Deccan body politic, and showed the possibilities of its annexation to the Moghul Empire. Aurangzeb invaded and captured Haiderabad. The city was plundered by his soldiers, and the entire kingdom might have been annexed on this occasion but for the interference of Shahjahan, who, at the instance of Dara, who had been won over by Qutb Shah, ordered him to desist. Some territory however was annexed.

After 1636 Bijapur remained on peaceful terms with the Moghuls for the next twenty years. In 1656 Adil Shah died and was succeeded by a youngster. The rule of a minor gave rise to all the usual evils, and Mir Jumla, now the prime-minister of Shahjahan, counselled the Emperor to annex the kingdom. Aurangzeb, assisted by Mir Jumla and Shayista Khan, marched against Bijapur and captured two frontier forts. Meanwhile Adil Shah's agents won over Dara, and Shahjahan ordered peace. Hardly were the new conquests consolidated when the news of the sudden illness of Shahjahan called away Aurangzeb to play his part in the North.

The North-Western Frontier occupied the attention of every Moghul monarch. From Babur to Aurangzeb we find every ruler possessed with the ambition of recovering his hereditary dominions in Central Asia. Even Jahangir once showed his intention of trying his fortune in those regions. Shahjahan's greed of conquest, and the civil war among the Uzbegs of Central Asia, induced

him to try to regain those regions. A series of attempts were made to capture, and retain Balkh, but without any notable success. Prince after prince was sent there between 1645 and 1647, but their attempts came to naught. Aurangzeb won his spurs as a military commander and tactician in the fields of Balkh.

The North Western Frontier

THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

Besides Balkh there was fighting in another region on the frontier, i.e., Kandahar. Shahjahan made desperate efforts to recover it from the Persians. The governor Ali Mardan Khan surrendered it to the Moghuls in 1638, but the Shah regained it about ten years later, and

though two campaigns were undertaken to get it back, the result was disappointment. There was an appalling loss of men and money, and the Moghul military prestige was much lowered. Kandhar was not conquered

War of Succession

The last notable event of Shahjahan's reign was the civil war among his four sons, Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad. Dara the eldest was nearest to Shahjahan's heart. He was an accomplished prince, liberal in his ideas and affable in his manners. Shahjahan had proclaimed him heir-apparent and kept him at court to train him in the art of government. But his stay at court spoilt him. He became haughty and did not develop initiative. Nor could he gain much military experience.

Shuja, the second son, was a man of great intelligence, possessing an elegant taste and an ambitious disposition. But his constant devotion to pleasure, and his seventeen years' stay in the enervating climate of Bengal, of which province he was the governor, made him weak, indolent and incapable of sustained effort.

Aurangzeb, the third son, made a striking contrast both to Dara and Shuja. He possessed all the qualities of a cool and calculating general, and was an adept in the art of diplomacy. His ability had been tried in several provinces, the Deccan, Gujarat, Sind and Multan. He had gained his military experience in the fields of Balkh and Kandahar. His hatred of Dara was due to his opposing his designs in the Deccan.

Murad, the youngest of Shahjahan's sons, was a worthless fellow. He was foolish, pleasure-loving, impetuous and unbusiness-like. Though dauntless and brave in the field of battle, he was susceptible to flattery and knew only how to obey but not to command.

Besides the above four princes there were also two princesses who played an active part in the war of succession. Jahanara Begum, the eldest daughter of Shahjahan, was a talented and cultured lady. She was devoted

to her father, who doted upon her. She sided with Dara and it was the counsel of Dara and Jahanara which guided Shahjahan in his last days. Raushanara, the younger daughter of the Emperor, was shrewd, but quiet and revengeful. She was devoted to Aurangzeb, and kept him informed of the movements at court.

Shahjahan fell suddenly ill in 1657 and the princes began to fight for the throne. As a matter of fact Shahjahan himself was responsible for this war. He had divided the empire amongst his four sons: Dara was to remain at court and manage the central affairs; Shuja was the governor of Bengal; Aurangzeb controlled the Deccan; and Murad had been installed in Gujarat. Each of these princes kept separate courts and ruled like independent princes. Each had enough resources at his disposal to induce him to try a chance for the throne. Secondly, the bad precedent set by Shahjahan in murdering the surviving members of the royal family compelled the princes to fight for their lives. And finally, greed for the throne, and their jealousy of Dara were the greatest incentives to lead them to war.

The first to break out was Shuja. He moved with an army from Bengal but was defeated near Patna and repulsed. The next to assume the offensive was Murad who proclaimed his independence in Gujarat. He was joined by Aurangzeb with his entire resources, and the two proceeded towards the North. Dara on receiving the news of their advance sent Jaswant Singh to check them, but the latter was defeated at Dharmat and ignominiously fled from the field. The path was, for the confederate princes, now quite clear. They advanced further and were met on the field of Samugarh, near Agra, by Dara, and his hastily summoned hosts. A hotly contested battle was fought and Dara suffered a crushing defeat.

Aurangzeb proceeded to Agra, captured the fort and placed Shahjahan under close vigilance. Then he started in pursuit of Dara who had fled towards Delhi. At

Mathura, Aurangzeb became suspicious of Murad, and imprisoned him. Dara was hounded out of the Panjab, and suffering intense troubles on the way, reached the Baluchi country with the intention of leaving India and going to Persia. But his protector, Malik Jiwan, proved treacherous and handed him over to Aurangzeb's men. Dara was brought to Delhi where he was paraded through the streets, and thereafter beheaded on a charge of heresy. The same treatment was meted out to Murad.

When Aurangzeb was absent in the Panjab, Shuja had for a second time advanced from Bengal, but the Imperialists defeated him and drove him back. He was not, however, allowed to live peacefully in Bengal, but was pursued into Arakan by Aurangzeb's lieutenant, Mir Jumla, and perished in the hilly regions of Assam.

Mir Jumla

Mir Jumla was the son of an oil merchant of Isfahan and entered the service of the king of Golconda as a diamond merchant. By reason of his wonderful talents, which soon came into prominence, he rose to be prime-minister. He won distinction both as a civil administrator and as a general. Because of certain misunderstandings he left the service of the Golconda king and went over to Aurangzeb. He showed the way to the conquest of the Deccan. On the death of his wazir, Shahjahan gave the vacant post of Mir Jumla. After Aurangzeb's accession he was appointed governor of Bengal, where he died in pursuit of his ambitions.

Magnificence of Shahjahan's court

Shahjahan's court was renowned for its magnificence and display. He placed in it some wonderful works of art. The Peacock throne attracted the attention of every foreign visitor to the court. We get a vivid description of its cost and construction in the pages of Bernier, Mannucci and Tavernier, all of them contemporary foreign travellers. Their accounts throw a

great light upon the economic and social life of the people, and are a valuable source of information.

Last days of Shahjahan

The last days of Shahjahan were sorrowful. He lived as a prisoner in the hands of his son. No freedom of movement was allowed to him, even permission was denied him to visit the treasury in which was kept his collection of precious jewels which he loved so much. His only companion in captivity was Jahanara Begum, who ministered to his wants. He died in 1666.

Date	Events
A.D.	
1526 ..	First battle of Panipat.
March 1527 ..	Battle of Kanwaha.
Dec. 1530 ..	Death of Babur; accession of Humayun.
1535 ..	Raid into Malwa and Gujarat.
1538 ..	Humayun in Bengal.
June 1539 ..	Defeat of Humayun at Chausa.
May 1540 ..	Final defeat of Humayun at Kanauj.
Jan. 1542 ..	Enthronement of Sher Shah.
Nov. 23 1542 ..	Birth of Akbar at Amarkot.
1545 ..	Death of Sher Shah; accession of Islam Shah.
1553–1554 ..	Death of Islam Shah; Muhammad Adil Shah's accession; Sikandar Sur in the Panjab.
June 1555 ..	Restoration of Humayun.
Jan. 1556 ..	Death of Humayun.
Feb. 14 1556 ..	Enthronement of Akbar at Kalanaur.
Nov. 5 1556 ..	Second battle of Panipat against Hemu.
1557 ..	End of the Sur dynasty.
1556–1560 ..	Regency of Bairam Khan.
1563 ..	Abolition of the pilgrim-tax.
1564 ..	Abolition of the *jizya.*
1565–1567 ..	Uzbeg rebellions.
1568 ..	Fall of Chitor.
1572–1573 ..	Conquest of Gujarat.
1575 ..	Conquest of Bengal; defeat of Rana Pratap at Gogunda or Haldighat.
1580 ..	Bengal rebellion.
1582 ..	Proclamation of *Din-i-Ilahi.*
1586 ..	Annexation of Kashmir.
1580–1590 ..	First and second Jesuit missions to Akbar.

Date	Events
A.D.	
1591 ..	Annexation of Southern Sind.
1592 ..	Annexation of Orissa.
1594 ..	Annexation of Baluchistan and Makran.
1595 ..	Annexation of Kandahar; third Jesuit mission.
1596 ..	Attack on Ahmadnagar; Chand Sultana; annexation of Berar.
1600 ..	Fall of Ahmadnagar.
1601 ..	Surrender of Ahmadnagar.
1601–1604 ..	Prince Salim in rebellion.
Oct. 1605 ..	Death of Akbar; accession of Jahangir.
1606 ..	Rebellion of Khusrau.
1615–1618 ..	Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.
1622 ..	Death of Khusrau.
1622 ..	Recovery of Kandahar by the Persians.
1622 ..	Rebellion of Prince Khurram.
1623–1624 ..	Suppression of the rebellion by Parwez and Mahabat Khan.
1625 ..	Submission of Shahjahan.
Oct. 1626 ..	Mahabat Khan's rebellion.
1627 ..	Death of Jahangir.
Feb. 1628 ..	War of succession.
1628 ..	Enthronement of Shahjahan.
1631 ..	Rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi.
1632 ..	Capture of Hughli from the Portuguese.
1636 ..	Annexation of Ahmadnagar.
,, ..	Treaties with Golconda and Bijapur.
,, ..	Aurangzeb appointed Viceroy of the Deccan.
1638 ..	Kandahar surrendered to the Moghuls.
1645–1647 ..	Campaign in Badakshan and Balkh.
1649 ..	Kandahar taken by the Persians.
1649, 1652 & 1653 ..	Three sieges of Kandahar.
1653 ..	Aurangzeb, Viceroy of the Deccan for the second time.
1654 ..	Siege of Golconda by Aurangzeb.
1657 ..	Invasion of Bijapur; illness of Shahjahan.
1658 ..	War of Succession began.
Feb. 1658 ..	Shuja defeated near Patna.
April 1658 ..	Jaswant Singh defeated at Dharmat.
May 1658 ..	Dara defeated at Samugarh.
June 1658 ..	Captivity of Murad and Shahjahan.
Jan. 1659 ..	Shuja defeated a second time at Khajwah.
April 1659 ..	Dara Shikoh finally overthrown at Deorai.
Aug. 1659 ..	Execution of Dara.
May 1660 ..	Death of Shuja.

CHAPTER V

Aurangzeb

The Moghuls had now been in India for about a hundred and thirty years, and during this period every ruler of that dynasty had followed the 'forward' policy. The empire had been extended to its farthest limits on the West and the North; on the East it touched the borders of Assam, and on the South the recently acquired territories of Ahmadnagar marked its extremity. The rulers of Bijapur and Golconda were on peaceful terms with the Lord of the North, and the Rajputs were the devoted allies of the Empire. The Moghul rule was at the zenith of its glory, and peace and prosperity reigned on all sides. The new Emperor was pious; conscientious in the discharge of his duties; lived a frugal life, and hated pomp and glory. He abstained from indulgence in any prohibited food, drink or dress.

Moghul India at the time of Aurangzeb's accession

AURANGZEB

Aurangzeb was born in 1618 and was the third son of his father. While still an infant he, along with his

eldest brother, was sent as a hostage to the Imperial court. There he lived under the supervision of Nur Jahan who looked after his education. He was placed under the guidance of able teachers and showed great eagerness for religious literature. In a short time he mastered the Quran and Hadis, and acquired a scholarly knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Chaghtai Turki. He also received lessons in martial exercises and became dauntless and brave.

Aurangzeb's early life and education

Aurangzeb first received his *mansab* when placed in charge of the expedition against the Bundelas. He acquitted himself creditably and gave proofs of singular tact and ability. He was now promoted to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, which he held twice, in 1636–44 and 1652–56. He also governed Gujarat and Sind, the former in 1644–46, and the latter in 1648–52. He gained his military experience on the most difficult fronts, and was a favourite with the army.

After removing his rivals Aurangzeb finally proclaimed himself Emperor in 1661. He held his court at Delhi till the death of Shahjahan which occurred five years after his coronation. The magnificence and grandeur of court life was distasteful to the new Emperor, and he immediately set himself to make it simpler, and more in conformity with the orthodox tenets of his religion. He prohibited heretical festivities like those of Nau Roz, Dasehara and Dewali, abolished the customary practice of appearing daily before the public in the Jhoraka, banished music, and forbade the writing of chronicles and the practice of painting. The use of gaudy and brilliant apparel was also prohibited.

Accession and reform of the court

Aurangzeb like his predecessors was also imbued with the idea of territorial aggrandizement. Shortly after his accession he commissioned Mir Jumla to conquer Eastern

Assam. For three years, 1660–3, the veteran soldier campaigned in those hilly regions and was able to annex Cooch Bihar. But he returned with shattered health and died. He was succeeded by Shayista Khan, an uncle of the Emperor. The new governor prosecuted the schemes of his predecessor, and was able to annex Chittagong. The pirates of Arakan had become a source of danger to the traders of Bengal. Shayista Khan, therefore, prepared a flotilla of boats and suppressed them entirely.

Extension of the Empire : Assam and Arakan

The frontier regions of the Empire were disturbed by the unruly conduct of the Yusufzis and Afridis. Aurangzeb's resources were tried to the utmost in suppressing this disturbance, which lasted about seven years, 1667–74. Generals like Jaswant Singh and Mahabat Khan were detailed to manage frontier affairs, but despite their laborious efforts, the frontier tribes could not be tamed into submission.

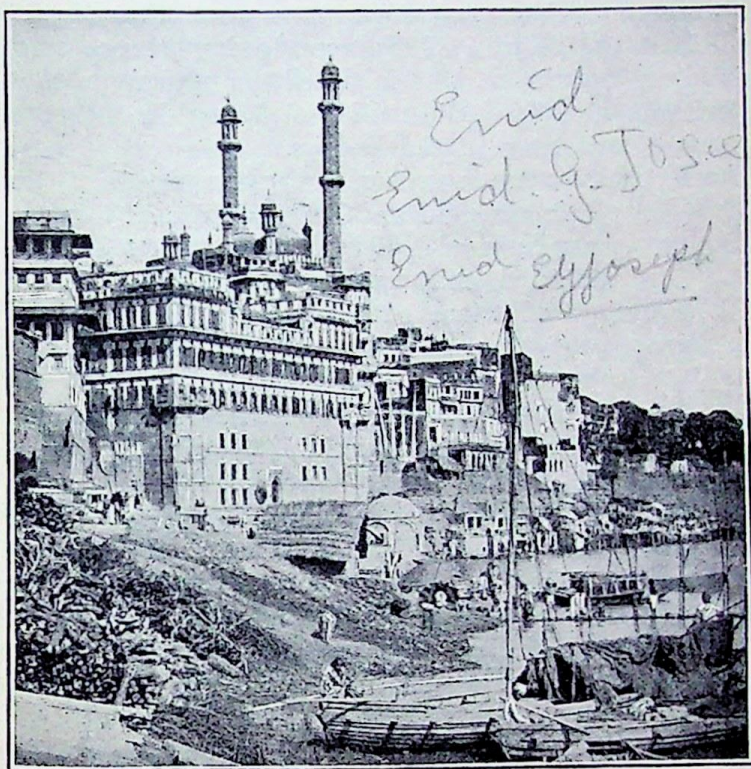
The North-Western Frontier

The Shah of Persia had intrigued with Dara and Murad during the war of succession, and had also incited the Shiah rulers of the Deccan. After Aurangzeb's accession the Shah, in 1661, sent an ambassador to congratulate the Emperor. But misunderstanding between the two courts continued and the danger of a Persian invasion threatened the Empire till the death of the Shah in 1667.

Aurangzeb and Persia

Dr. Gemelli-Careri, a European traveller, saw Aurangzeb at a place on the northern banks of the Kistna river, in 1695, and has left an interesting account of the Emperor in his old age. Aurangzeb received him courteously, and asked questions about the Turks in Hungary. The Emperor, who was nearly eighty years of age, bent on a crutched stick, but was able to write his orders without glasses. He was of small stature, with a large nose,

A foreign traveller's account of Aurangzeb

and white beard. He slept little, spent hours in devotion, confined himself to vegetable diet, and often fasted. His coat and turban were of white cotton, his sash or waist-band of silk, and his headdress was adorned by a gold band, and a great emerald surrounded by small bands.

AURANGZEB'S MOSQUE AT BENARES

The Jats were a race of hardy peasants inhabiting the country which extended from the north-east frontiers of Rajputana to the banks of the Jumna. They came to Mathura and Aligarh districts as servants and peaceful cultivators in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and

became powerful during the next sixty years. The Jats of Mathura under a man named Gokula gave trouble to the Emperor. They rose in rebellion in 1669, defeated and put to death the *faujdar* and extended their ravages as far as the confines of Agra. They were temporarily put down but they continued to harass the Moghuls throughout the reign. They rose to importance under their leader Churaman, who initiated the opposition to the Imperialists in 1695. He could not be subdued because Aurangzeb was busy in the Deccan.

Aurangzeb and the Jats

The Satnamis were a sect of religious devotees, and their stronghold in the seventeenth century was Narnaul. They rose in revolt but were defeated and crushed in 1672.

The Satnamis

The contact of Islam with Hinduism made a deep impression on the two religions, and religious reformers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *e.g.*, Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya and Vallabhacharya were influenced by this change. In 1469 in the Panjab was born Guru Nanak, who was the founder of the Sikh religion. He wished to reform the religions of his times. He was an apostle of Indian unity. He laid stress on the unity of God. In his opinion it was only by living a pure life and by devotion to God that one could attain salvation. He did not approve of the externalia of religion, and preached against the caste system, and image-worship. His followers came to be known as Sikhs. He does not seem to have thought of founding a political community. He was followed by nine gurus, during whose time the Sikhs became a political community partly because of the personality of some of their gurus and partly because of political circumstances.

The Sikhs

Guru Angad and Guru Amardas devoted their time and energy mainly to religious work. The fourth guru, Guru Ramdas added immensely to the popularity and importance of his religion by winning the favour of Akbar and

profiting from his policy of toleration. The Great Moghul Akbar gave him a grant of a small plot of land, on which he laid the foundations of Amritsar. The Guru, it is said, prayed for the success of Akbar against Chitor. Relations between the Moghul Emperor Akbar and Guru Arjun were also cordial. This fifth Guru (1581–1607) possessed great organizing capacity. He compiled the Adi Granth; transferred the headquarters of the Sikhs to Amritsar; placed the revenue administration on a more sound basis by fixing the amount of donations with the consent of donors and by appointing one collector in each district; and encouraged trade in horses. He succeeded in making Sikhism a well-organized religious community. In Jahangir's reign, when Prince Khusrau revolted in 1606, the Sikh Guru offered him pecuniary assistance. This was considered an act of treason, for which he was imprisoned and put to death.

The sixth Guru, Guru Har Govind (1606–45) was favoured by Jahangir who appointed him a mansabdar of 700 horse. In 1620 he accompanied the Moghul Emperor to Kashmir. But after that the two fell out. His criticism of Jahangir's policy and his violation of the forest laws resulted in his arrest, but he was released on the intercession of a Muslim saint. During Shahjahan's reign, the Sikh Guru and the Moghul troops came into conflict in 1628, 1631 and 1634. The Guru died a peaceful death in 1644. His chief contribution was to make the Sikhs a military community.

The seventh guru, Har Rai was a man of peace and a friend of Prince Dara. He increased the number of the Sikhs but did not follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. His death was followed by a contest for the guruship between Ram Rai and Har Krishna. The latter succeeded, but soon died of small-pox in 1664. Before his death, he nominated Tegh Bahadur as his successor. He, becoming Guru, served the Emperor for a while, but, later, to save himself from the intrigues of

GURU GOVIND SINGH

his uncle Ram Rai attached himself to Raja Ram Singh and fought in the Assam War. On his return home he

was again pursued by his enemy who misrepresented to the Emperor the assumption of the title of Sacha Tadsueh by Tegh Bahadur. He now turned against Aurangzeb and organized attacks against the Imperial territories, but was captured and taken to Delhi. Aurangzeb asked him to embrace Islam, and on his refusal put him to death. The execution of Tegh Bahadur made the Sikhs desperate, and they hardened in their opposition to the Moghuls. Guru Govind Singh, the last Sikh Guru, who succeeded 'the martyr' Tegh Bahadur, realized the impossibility of successfully defying the authority of the mighty Moghul Emperor. So he remained peaceful till 1695, during which time he purified the Sikh organization. He eradicated the caste system, declared himself the messenger of God, and inculcated the idea of faith in the Guru. He organized a new brotherhood (the Khalsa). His five teachings were that all Sikhs should have the same ceremony of initiation; worship one God; honour the memory of Guru Nanak and the other gurus; show reverence to the Adi Granth; and observe the same form of salutation. He also made it obligatory on every Sikh to carry comb, knife, sword, keep his hair unshorn and put on kachh (blue shorts). He asked all the Sikhs to call themselves Singh (lions). By these means, he consolidated the Sikhs into one organized military community. He, now, tried to carve out a principality. Taking advantage of Aurangzeb's absence from the north, he began to build forts and capture hill forts. He was checked by the Moghul governors, and summoned by Aurangzeb to his court in the Deccan. The Guru had no option. He proceeded, but in the meantime Aurangzeb died. Bahadur Shah appointed him as a mansabdar to fight against the Marathas. He went to the Deccan, where in 1708 he was murdered by an Afghan fanatic at Nander.

Thereafter the Sikhs continued to harass the Moghul authorities, profited from the defeat of the Moghuls at

the hands of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali; and it is from the inheritors of Nadir Shah (and not from the successors of the Moghul Emperors) that the Sikh chieftains conquered the Panjab.

Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar had not shown either activity or ability in his Deccan campaign. He was disgraced by the Emperor, and sent to the west of the Indus, and was appointed to the unimportant post of commandant of Jamrud at the entrance to the Khyber.

Aurangzeb and the Rajputs

Two posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh having been born at Lahore, Aurangzeb selected Ajit Singh, took him to Delhi, and placed him in the harem. This was, however, greatly disliked by the Rathors, who wanted Ajit Singh to rule over them.

The Rathors acted with energy and boldness, and despite the Imperial vigilance and pursuit their leader Durgadas effected the rescue of the child Ajit Singh, son of Jaswant. This was a signal for a general war in Rajputana in which Mewar also joined its sister state. Prince Akbar was sent against Mewar but he rebelled and joined the Rajputs. Being unable to maintain his position against Aurangzeb, he went to the Deccan and sought the protection of the Marathas with whose help he succeeded in reaching Persia where he died.

Though Mewar ultimately recognized Aurangzeb's right to collect the *jizya*, and ceded some territory in lieu of it, fighting continued throughout the reign. Aurangzeb's war in Rajputana did not produce much benefit to the Empire. The Rajput war caused him an appalling loss of men and money and the Imperial prestige was lowered. Further, it affected his operations in the Deccan, and when he went to fight there the hostile feelings of the Rajputs told heavily upon his resources, and rendered his progress slow and ineffective.

Aurangzeb's reign may conveniently be divided into two periods of twenty-five years each. In the first the

centre of gravity was in the North, and in the second it shifted to the Deccan. The outstanding features of the first have already been detailed; in the second the main interest centres round the Marathas, the Emperor's conflict with them, and the subjugation of Bijapur and Golconda.

Aurangzeb and the Deccan

The Marathas belong to an ancient tribe of the Aryans who had settled in the Deccan. Their homeland is Maharashtra, which is triangular in shape, lying between the Tapti and a line drawn from Chanda to Goa. It is a rocky and sterile plot of land confined to the western edge of the Deccan plateau. The history of the Marathas can be traced back to the days of Asoka. They played no mean part in the politics of their country under the rule of the various Hindu dynasties like the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas. It was in the beginning of the fourteenth century that they were for the first time, brought under the Muslim rule. When the Turkish rule of the Delhi Sultans in the Deccan ended, the Bahmani kingdom came into prominence. Even in the time of the Bahmani kings, many Maratha chieftains enjoyed independent principalities in the hilly parts of their country. When the Bahmani kingdom broke up into five parts about the end of the fifteenth century, the Marathas continued to play an important part in the history of the five offshoots of the Bahmani kingdom. A new element in Deccan politics was introduced at the end of the sixteenth century. It was the Moghul danger. In the seventeenth century we find the Marathas challenging the mighty power of the Great Moghuls. The revival of their power was not a matter of chance, but the result of certain forces that had been at work for a long time.

The Marathas

The first and the foremost was religious and social revival among the Marathas. The impact of Islam with Hinduism led certain Hindu reformers to reform their

social and religious systems. The teachings of a large number of saints like Gyandeva an outcaste Hindu, Rohidas a cobbler, and Namdeva a tailor, stirred the Marathas in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This movement, known as the Pandharpur movement, stimulated the sense of social equality. The centre of this movement was the town of Pandharpur, where the Marathas used to meet annually to offer worship to the idol of the Lord Krishna. The result was that a sense of religious and social unity grew up among them. These teachers generally preached to the people in the vernacular language. Consequently, the Marathi language developed. The Marathas were also taking an active and important part in the Deccan states. The Muslim kings of the Bahmani dynasty, and after its decline, those of the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, Berar and Golconda employed the Marathas in the two most important branches of administration, in the departments of the army and the revenue, from the lowest to the highest posts. Being a race of hardy men, they made fine soldiers. Malik Amber was the first ruler to recognize the value of the light Maratha cavalry, and had at his disposal a well-organized contingent. Thus we find that by the first quarter of the seventeenth century the Marathas were united socially, religiously and linguistically and that they had also learned the work of administration. They, however, lacked political unity, and were divided.

Causes of their power

The political conditions of the Deccan supplied this want. The kingdoms formed on the ruins of the Bahmani Empire had never been on amicable terms among themselves. The advent of the Moghuls in the Deccan in the last years of Akbar's reign made matters worse. The three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda failed to give a united front to their common enemy, the Moghul. Wars between the Moghuls and these kingdoms

offered an opportunity to the Marathas to found a Maratha kingdom and empire.

Shahji Bhonsla, who has been called the real founder of Maratha independence, was the man to take advantage of the reigning political confusion and chaos.

Shahji (1594-1664)

Shahji Bhonsla was born in 1594. He inherited the jagirs of Poona and Supa. He fought the Moghuls as a devoted servant of Malik Amber. Even after his master's death, he carried on a protracted warfare with the Moghuls, showing how a small well-organized Maratha cavalry could successfully challenge the might and majesty of the Great Moghuls. When the Bijapur and Golconda kings were isolated by the Moghuls, Shahji was subdued and compelled to enter the service of Bijapur in 1637. Poona and Supa were assigned to him as jagir, and he was sent to govern the Carnatic as a servant of the Bijapur king, where he conquered Tanjore and Trichinopoly for his master. Due to Sivaji's conduct he was imprisoned in 1648, but was pardoned and released, and sent to the Raichur Doab to quell the rebellion there. It was in 1664 that Shahji Bhonsla died.

The worthy son of this valiant Maratha Shahji Bhonsla was Shivaji. He was born in 1627 at Shivaner.

Shivaji (1627-1680)

He early mastered the contents of the Hindu epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, and sought the society of saints. His mother Jijabai instilled in him the love of freedom and the spirit of heroism by reciting heroic stories to him. When departing for the South in 1637, Shahji left his son Shivaji at Poona to maintain his jagir with the help of his tutor Dadaji Kondev. In 1637 Shivaji was only ten years of age and was amenable to discipline and education. Dadaji made him expert in fighting, riding and other martial exercises. He taught him the use of tactics; gave him the knowledge of the neighbouring hills and passes; and initiated him into the rudiments of financial administration. Thus by 1645 he became a deeply religious,

freedom-loving and adventurous man; and it is not too much to think that he must have felt that the Moghul danger was real and that Bijapur was in its last days. Though Dadaji's ambition was to make Shivaji a great courtier of Bijapur, Shivaji did not follow his advice. He was aiming at carving out a small independent

MAHARAJA SHIVAJI

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principality for himself. To that end he entered on a very varied career. In the year 1646 the Bijapur king fell ill, and confusion reigned in the kingdom. He took advantage of this and captured Torana for the Bijapur commanders, and fortified Rajgarh. To form the jagirs

of his father into a compact state he subjugated Purandhar, Lohgarh and the North Konkan. This aggressive conduct of Shivaji was a serious cause of anxiety to Adil Shah, who suspected that the young Shivaji was probably doing this under the instructions of Shahji. Therefore he was imprisoned. Shivaji's father was, however, soon released, partly because he made fair promises to Bijapur and partly because the Adil Shah feared lest the Maratha should transfer his allegiance to the Moghuls. For about eight years Shivaji maintained silence. He remained on friendly terms with the Moghuls, and even offered his active support to Aurangzeb when the latter advanced to subdue Bijapur.

After Aurangzeb's departure for the North, Shivaji renewed his activities against Bijapur. Afzal Khan at the head of a large army was sent to bring Shivaji to his knees. The general boasted that he would bring Shivaji as a captive to the court. Through a Brahman envoy Shivaji heard of the designs of Afzal Khan and went fully prepared to meet the Bijapur commander. Afzal had concealed a dagger under his waist to make an end of his rival. But before he could find time to act Shivaji plunged his iron-claws into his stomach, and Afzal expired. The Maratha soldiers fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, defeated and dispersed it. After this another army was sent to subdue Shivaji but it met with no better fate.

Shivaji and the Moghuls

In the course of his ambitious designs Shivaji made certain encroachments upon the Moghul territory in the Deccan. Aurangzeb despatched his uncle Shayista Khan in 1660 to punish Shivaji. Shayista Khan captured Poona and carried on desultory warfare for three years. One night when sleeping in his apartments at Poona he was surprised by Shivaji, narrowly escaped with his life, and during the affray lost one of his fingers. He was thereupon transferred to Bengal.

The discomfiture of the Moghul general greatly heartened Shivaji, and he plundered Surat in 1664, and carried off much booty. Aurangzeb now appointed Jai Singh to continue the campaign against the Marathas. The Rajput general succeeded in capturing a large number of Shivaji's forts and in compelling him to sue for terms. Shivaji concluded a treaty with Jai Singh at Purandhar, by which he had to surrender several forts to the Moghuls. Shivaji did not want to go to the Moghul court but Jai Singh, who was a great diplomat, persuaded him. Shivaji went to the Imperial court in 1666, but felt his position acutely at Agra, and planned to escape. By means of a stratagem he escaped from Agra and, taking a circuitous route, reached his own country. In 1667 Shivaji made a treaty with the Moghuls whereby he was allowed to use the title of Raja.

Shivaji was now on friendly terms with the Moghuls and the Bijapur kingdom. He therefore devoted his time to the organization of the administration of his state. In 1670 hostilities were renewed and Aurangzeb ordered his son Prince Muazzam to capture Shivaji; but the Prince allowed Shivaji to escape and reported that it was not possible for him to do so. Shivaji captured several forts and once more sacked Surat. The struggle between the rising Maratha and the Moghul captains continued till 1674, when there was some lull due to Moghul preoccupation in the north-western frontier and Rajputana.

Shivaji was crowned on June 6, 1674. He assumed the titles of Maharaja and Chhatrapati. This was a direct and definite challenge to the Moghul Empire. Anticipating the renewal of struggle with the Moghuls, he made peace with Bijapur and Golconda and bribed the Moghul Viceroy Bahadur Khan. He now began to entertain designs of annexing the Carnatic. His Carnatic campaign of 1677–78 has been regarded as the greatest military exploit of Shivaji. He captured Jinji, Vellore and a

number of other forts. The result was that his prestige gained immensely.

In 1678 Shambhuji, the son of Shivaji deserted to the Moghul side. Hostilities began again. While the issue of the struggle between the Marathas and the Moghuls was yet to be decided, Shivaji breathed his last in 1680 (April 5).

Shivaji's Administration

The kingdom of Shivaji included the country from Ramnagar in the north to Karwar in the south. The eastern boundary embraced Baglana in the north and encircled the whole of Satara and much of the Kolhapur district. To these, the western Carnatic was added in 1678. These portions were known as Swaraj. This region was the organised portion of Shivaji's kingdom. It was divided into three parts, each under a viceroy. The northern division was under Moro Trimak Pingle; the southern under Annaji Datto; and the south-eastern under Dattaji Pant. Besides this, there were certain unsettled parts in Mysore and Madras. The countries outside his kingdom were regarded as the Moghlai territory, where the Marathas could plunder and demand *chauth* and *sardeshmuki*.

Shivaji's Government

According to the fashion of the middle ages and the circumstances and political conditions of those days, Shivaji established a monarchical form of government, differing little from the Moghul model. The king was the final authority in all matters, executive, judicial and legislative. In theory, he was an autocrat. But in practice, he was helped by a council of eight ministers, known as the Ashta Pradhan. This council was, however, in no sense a cabinet. Each of these ministers was in charge of one department. They were generally consulted, but the king had the last word on all matters. He could, if he liked, disregard the advice of these ministers. Thus this Ashta Pradhan was a mere consultative and advisory body. The eight ministers were (1) the Peshwa or the prime minister

whose duty was to look after the general administration and represent the king in his absence; (2) the Amatya or Majumdar or auditor, whose function was to check accounts; (3) the Waqia-navis (Mantri) or chronicler, whose business was to compile daily records of the king's activities; (4) the Shurunavis (Sachiva) or secretary; (5) the Dabir (Sumanta) a foreign secretary; (6) the Sar-i-naubat (Senapati) or commander-in-chief; (7) the Pandid Rao or head of the ecclesiastical department; and (8) the Nyayadhish or chief justice.

As a general rule, all the members of the Ashta Pradhan except the commander-in-chief were Brahmans; and except the Pandid Rao and the Nyayadhish, all were military commanders. Shivaji realized the defects of the jagir system and abolished it and paid the servants of the state in cash. To guard against the possibility of any of these ministers trying to set up an independent principality, he made it a rule that these offices should not be hereditary. So long as these rules were observed, the Maratha administration remained very efficient.

The Military Organization

Shivaji was a brilliant general of his time. He introduced various reforms in the organization of his army. The forts, 240 in number, were the arteries of his kingdom. Every fort had three officers. The Havaldar was a Maratha officer, who had a garrison under him. The Sabnis was a Brahman who was responsible for the civil and revenue administration. The Karkhanah-navis was a Kayastha (Prabhu) who was in charge of stores and grain. Thus Shivaji struck a balance between the different castes from which soldiers and officers were recruited.

Shivaji's army consisted of infantry, cavalry and artillery. The cavalry was divided into two classes, the *bargirs* and the *siladars*. To the former the state supplied horses and arms; the latter had to find his own. Twenty-five troopers formed a unit in the cavalry under the Havaldar. Five such units formed one jumla under

a Jumladar; ten jumlas made one hazari; and five hazaris a Panch Hazari. The supreme commander was known as Sar-i-naubat. Every batch of 25 had a water-carrier and a farrier.

The organization of the infantry was almost similar. It was used to garrison forts and as militia. Shivaji's artillery was not efficient.

The recruitment of the soldiers was made after careful personal examination by Shivaji. The Hindus and Muslims both served in the army. The soldiers were paid in cash from the state treasury and not by grant of jagirs. Shivaji enforced discipline in the army and punished misconduct heavily. The result was that his army became a very efficient force. Shivaji's settled policy was to draw supplies from non-Swaraj dominions for eight months in a year. After that the soldiers rested in their camps during the rainy season. They had to give account of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The strength of his army is not definitely known. Thirty to forty thousand horse and sixty to eighty thousand foot generally served in his campaigns.

Revenue Administration

In the administration of Revenue, Shivaji exhibited great wisdom and modelled it on the Todar Mal system. He abolished farming and stopped the grant of jagirs to civil or military officers. The assessment of revenue was based on measurement and on the nature of the soil. The state demand was two-fifths payable in cash or kind. In times of scarcity the state advanced loans to the cultivator, who was required to pay them in a number of instalments; and made remissions in the state demand.

For the purpose of revenue administration, the whole of the Swaraj land was divided into Prants; Prants into Mauzas, and Mauzas into Grams (villages). The officers in charge of each of these divisions were not hereditary,

Land revenue was the only certain source of the income of the state. Besides this, the state treasury derived much

benefit from *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi.* These were levied. or exacted only from the Moghulai territories. If the territories wanted to escape the Maratha raids, they were required to pay one fourth of the revenue paid by jagirdars to the state (*chauth*) and one tenth of the rent paid by the peasants (*sardeshmukhi*).

Religious policy

Shivaji's religious policy differed from that of contemporary Moghul rulers. He was very liberal and followed the policy of religious toleration. He patronized Hindu and Muslim saints and recruited soldiers from the Hindus and Muslims, never desecrated mosques or forced conversions. When a Quran fell into his hands, he used to hand it over to some pious Muslim.

His character and achievement

Shivaji was one of the greatest sons of India. His private life was beyond reproach. In an age when kings indulged in gross sensual pleasures, he maintained a high standard of morality. He was deeply religious and took great delight in listening to Hindu scriptures and sacred books. Though he was a pious Hindu, he did not indulge in the persecution of the Muslims. He was neither a fanatic nor a bigot. Khafi Khan bears testimony to this and says that "he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the woman of any one."

He was a born leader of men. His simple and pious life, his courage and spirit of adventure, and his royal gift of judging character rallied round him a large number of the people of his country. He was a great military leader. His inborn military genius is proved by his extraordinary and dazzling success in making his army efficient and using it to the best advantage. He struck terror into the hearts of the Southern and Northern Muslim kingdoms. He was also a great statesman. His revenue, military and administrative institutions, of which an account has been given above, reflect great credit on him.

The chief causes of his success were his insight into the character of others, his personal morality and loftiness of aim, his universal toleration and sense of justice, and his efficient army. The empire which he built up did not last long, as his government was essentially personal and autocratic. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the Marathas into a nation; and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people, and the new life that he gave to the Maratha state. Even Aurangzeb, who called him the "mountain-rat," said, "My armies have been employed against him for 19 years, and nevertheless his state has always been increasing."

Shivaji's Successors (1680-1707)

Shivaji was succeeded by his son Raja Ram, but Sambhaji, his elder brother ousted him. He was a dissolute and pleasure-loving prince. He continued his hereditary warfare with the Moghuls and raided the city of Burhanpur in 1681. Aurangzeb had by now freed himself from the Rajput war, and was in a position to turn against the Marathas. Further he had to mature his projects in the Deccan which he had conceived during the period of his Viceroyalty. Finally the arrival of Prince Akbar in the south hastened the Emperor's march thither.

Sambhaji (1680-1689)

Aurangzeb now overran the Deccan with his army and overwhelmed the Marathas on all sides. His plan was to drive them out of their hill-forts, and then to crush them. For the time being his scheme proved successful. Sambhaji was captured and beheaded in 1689, his son Sahu was sent as a prisoner to Delhi, and the regent Raja Ram, with the nobles and generals, took shelter in the Carnatic in the fort of Jinji. The Maratha power seemed to have come to an end; but they kept up what is called the "Twenty Years' War of Independence," and by their guerilla tactics broke the Moghul army and in the end regained all their lost possessions.

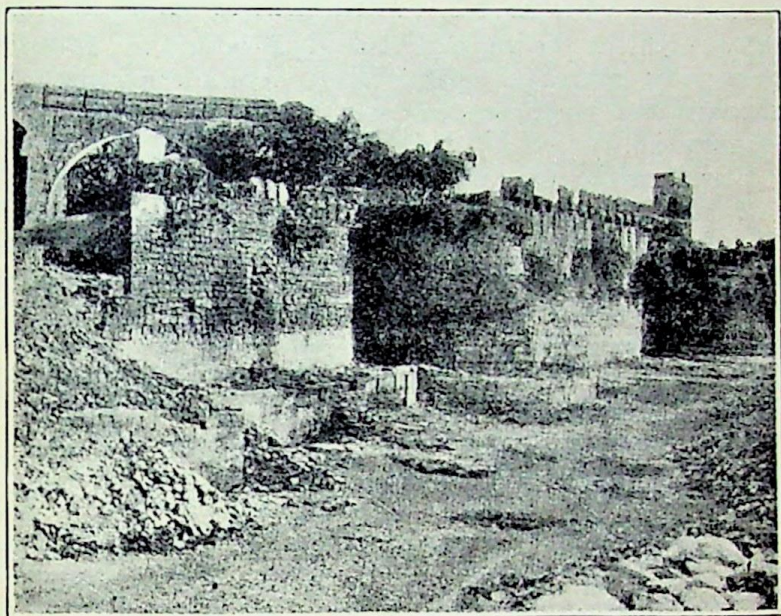
Realizing the impossibility of defeating Aurangzeb or checking his advance, Raja Ram advised the Marathas to harass the Moghul provinces. Therefore Aurangzeb sent Zulfiqar Khan, son of Wazir Asad Khan to lay siege to Jinji. For seven years (1691–1698) the siege continued, because Santaji Ghorpore and Dhanaji Jodava offered brave resistance to the Moghuls. In January 1698 the fort was captured by the Moghuls. Now Raja Ram fled to Satara and organized a large new army. Many Maratha jagirdars and generals joined him. With their co-operation Raja Ram invaded Khandesh, Berar and Baglana and forced their governors to pay *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* to him. Aurangzeb was not a man to be daunted. The siege of Satara was begun. Stubborn resistance was offered by the Marathas for a few months; but Raja Ram died in March 1700, and the Marathas surrendered the fort to the Emperor.

Raja Ram (1689-1700)

Raja Ram's son and successor Karna died after three weeks. The dowager-queen Tara Bai set herself on the throne and became the regent of the new king. Though a woman, she was clever and intelligent and possessed a great knowledge of civil and military affairs. She inspired the Marathas to continue their opposition to the Moghuls, and followed Raja Ram's policy of plundering, and levying blackmail in the Moghul provinces of the Deccan and Malwa. The Moghuls until 1707 were successful in capturing a large number of forts by the use of their arms, bribes and treachery. But the Marathas were also successful in regaining many of them. The last military exploit of Aurangzeb against the Marathas was the capture of the fort of Wagingera. Within two years of this success, the last of the Great Moghuls died in 1707.

Tara Bai (1700-1707)

The result of this long struggle between Aurangzeb and the Marathas was harmful to the Moghul Empire. The Moghuls lost men and money, their military efficiency

was greatly lowered, administration in the northern provinces suffered, and their prestige was eclipsed. The disruption of the Empire was only a question of time. Though the Marathas were ultimately the victors, their gains were counterbalanced by the introduction of various evils that crept into the Maratha administration. The jagirdari system was revived, discipline became lax,

THE WALLS OF THE FORT, BIJAPUR

various chieftains aspired to independence, and the Marathas were weakened by disunion. National unity thus became difficult, and the glorious traditions of Shivaji were forgotten.

Aurangzeb had found Golconda and Bijapur serious obstacles to his operations against the Marathas. Moreover ever since his second Viceroyalty of the Deccan he had been longing to annex them to the Moghul Empire,

and now, when his entire army was at his disposal, it was time to fulfil his desires. The kingdom of Golconda was suffering from misrule, and the tribute which its king had promised to the Moghuls in 1656 was in arrears. In 1684 an army was sent to capture Golconda. The Qutub Shahi general went over to the Moghuls and the ruler fled, but prince Muazzam, the leader of the Moghul army, made peace with the King. This did not satisfy Aurangzeb, and after the subjugation of Bijapur in 1686, he personally marched against the capital, captured it, annexed the kingdom, and sent the King a prisoner to Daulatabad.

Aurangzeb and the Deccan States

Aurangzeb accused the King of Bijapur of allying himself with the Marathas. Bijapur was reduced to serious straits; many of its outlying cities had already fallen into the hands of the Moghuls, and the whole of its western coast had been possessed by the Marathas. In 1685 the Emperor marched against Bijapur which was delivered into his hands in 1686. The king was sent a prisoner to Daulatabad, and the kingdom was annexed to the Empire.

Aurangzeb's death

Aurangzeb's health had been shattered by the severity of his campaigns in the Deccan, and he died in February, 1707. As a man, he led a saintly life; and his deep devotion to the tenets of Islam, the austerity and purity of his life and the heroic courage with which he carried out his policy made a remarkable impression on his contemporaries. He had the noblest conception of his office as a king, and lived an austere life. He supervised the minutest details of the administration, and had a rare insight into character. He failed to keep his empire united and strong, as he did not make sufficient allowance for differences of race and religion. He should have been tolerant to his Hindu subjects, and should have maintained his hold over the Rajputs and other races and kingdoms by a wise policy. Opinions on his administration vary.

Some say that he prevented the decay of the Moghul Empire. Others state that he was responsible for its fall. It will be true to say that had Aurangzeb followed the wise policy of Akbar, the Moghul Empire would have been changed into a national state, in which each community and race would have contributed to the growth of Indian nationality. India would have been united, and the Indian nation would have been a powerful factor in Asia. Aurangzeb failed as a king, but the failure was grand and impressive. It was the failure of a man with an iron will and narrow outlook, who could not appreciate the relative position of Mahrattas, Rajputs, Jats, and the independent Deccan kingdoms in a national state in India. Instead of uniting these races, he tried to crush them. He found at the end that the task was an impossible one.

Causes of Aurangzeb's Failure

It has been said that Aurangzeb was a failure as a ruler, but what were the causes of his failure? Firstly, his early training was deficient. It did not make him sufficiently liberal of other people's opinions, and he was consequently narrow in his outlook on life. Secondly, he was ever a prey to distrust and suspicion. He never entrusted the charge of a campaign to one single general; on the other hand, divided command was the order of the day. This was certainly not conducive to success. His policy aroused opposition in some parts of the country, and even his extraordinary ability failed in quelling it. The Jats and the Sikhs, on the one hand, endangered the safety of the empire, and the defection of the Rajputs, on the other, shattered his prestige, and destroyed his influence. Fourthly, the conquest of the Deccan exhausted his treasury, weakened his army, and introduced into the empire a set of men who were difficult to manage, and impossible to subdue. It has rightly been said that 'the Deccan proved the grave of his ambitions.' But it may be said in justification of the Emperor, that he was not the initiator of the Deccan policy; he inherited it from

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his predecessors and carried it to its logical conclusion. The conquest of the Deccan was undertaken only to solve the problem of the ever-growing Moghul army. But the degenerate condition of this army contributed in no small measure to the failure of the last 'Great Moghul'.

A survey of the Moghul Empire

Aurangzeb had inherited a compact empire from his father. What changes did he bring about? The only achievement which stands to his credit was the annexation of the Deccan. And this was the only frontier where there was a possibility of advance. The conquests of Assam and Arakan were of a temporary and dubious nature. Undoubtedly he handed down to his successor an extensive empire, but certainly not in a condition fit for its successful maintenance. He left a weak legacy behind him. The treasury was exhausted, the princes were devoid of sterling merit, a large number of opponents were in the field, and the over-grown army was the sole arbiter. During the reign of the 'Later Moghuls' we shall notice that it was the military leaders who swayed the pendulum backward or forward.

Enid. Joseph

Date		Events
A.D.		
1659	..	Formal enthronement of Aurangzeb.
1661–1663	..	Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam.
1666	..	Death of Shahjahan.
1669	..	Prohibition of Hindu worship; demolition of temples; first Jat rebellion.
1672	..	Satnami insurrection.
1679	..	Reimposition of *jizya*.
1680–1681	..	Rajput war; rebellion of Prince Akbar.
1681	..	Second Jat rebellion; Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.
1686	..	Annexation of Bijapur.
1687	..	Annexation of Golconda.
1689	..	Execution of Raja Sambhaji.
1692–1705	..	Indecisive war in the Deccan.
1706	..	Retreat of Aurangzeb to the Deccan.
1707	..	Death of Aurangzeb.
		MARATHAS
A.D.		
1627	..	Birth of Shivaji.
1659	..	Murder of Afzal Khan, the Bijapur general, by Shivaji.
1660	..	Aurangzeb sent Shayista Khan to the Deccan to punish Shivaji.
1664	..	First attack on Surat by Shivaji.
1667	..	Aurangzeb granted Shivaji the title of Raja.
1670	..	Second sack of Surat by Shivaji.
1674	..	Enthronement of Shivaji as an independent Raja.
1676	..	Shivaji's expedition to the south.
1680	..	Death of Shivaji; accession of Sambhaji.
1689	..	Execution of Sambhaji; Raja Ram, his brother, retires to Jinji.
1700	..	Death of Raja Ram; his widow Tara Bai as regent.
		SIKHS
A.D.		
1469–1539	..	Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.
1606	..	Fifth Guru, Arjun, ordered to be executed by Jahangir.
1606–1645	..	Har Govind, the sixth Guru.
1675	..	Ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, executed by Aurangzeb.
1675–1708	..	Tenth Guru, Govind Singh.
1708	..	Murder of Guru Govind Singh by an Afghan.

CHAPTER VI

Fall of the Moghul Empire

Aurangzeb left three sons Muazzam, Azam, and Kambaksh. Despite his will dividing the Empire amongst them, there occurred a civil war for the supreme lordship. Muazzam with the help of Zulfiqar Khan, the commander-in-chief of the forces, defeated his brothers and ascended the throne, assuming the style of Bahadur Shah. His reign is marked by the growing influence of the army in political affairs. Zulfiqar Khan was the power behind the throne. By his advice Sahu was released and sent off to his country. He was allowed to levy *chauth* in the Deccan. The Rajputs also asserted their power. The Rana of Mewar, the Raja of Marwar, and the Raja of Amber united together under their banner all the other states of Rajputana and forced Bahadur Shah to recognize their independence. The leader of the Sikhs, Banda, created disturbances in the Panjab. The Emperor started in pursuit of him but died on the way.

Bahadur Shah (1707-12)

The death of Bahadur Shah occasioned, as usual, a civil war among his sons. The eldest with the help of Zulfiqar Khan ascended the throne and took the title of Jahandar Shah. His reign was short because he was defeated by his nephew Farrukhsiyar with the help of the Sayyid brothers, who were responsible for the murder of both Jahandar Shah and Zulfiqar. The main interest of Farrukhsiyar's reign centres round the intrigue to get rid of the influence of the Sayyid brothers, Hassan Ali and Abdulla, and the attempts of Saadat Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk to carve out independent principalities for them-

Jahandar Shah (1712-13) and Farrukhsiyar (1713-19)

selves. An invasion was planned against Jodhpur and the Raja gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor. The Zemindari of thirty-seven towns in Bengal was granted to the East India Company; and the leader of the Sikhs, Banda, was captured and put to death.

In 1719 the intrigues of Farrukhsiyar against the Sayyids were brought to light, and the elder brother came to Delhi with a Maratha army. Farrukhsiyar was put to death in 1719, and two puppet kings, Rafiud-Darjat and Rafiud-Daula were placed upon the throne, one after another, but both died after nominal reigns of three and five months respectively. The Sayyids earned the title of 'King-makers'. In return for the assistance which the Sayyids received from the Marathas they assigned to Balaji Vishwanath, the Peshwa, a portion of the revenues of the Deccan, and legalized the conquests made by them in the various parts of the Moghul dominions.

Muhammad Shah came to the throne with the help of the Sayyids. The murder of the last two Moghuls at their hands made them unpopular and assistance was not wanting to Muhammad Shah if he attempted to suppress their power. Saadat Ali Khan and Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, now practically independent rulers of Oudh and the Deccan respectively, were jealous of the power of the Sayyids, who were defeated and put to death. The last stages of the break-up of the Moghul Empire were completed when Allahvardi Khan in 1724, and Ali Muhammad Khan, in 1740, assumed virtual independence in Bengal and Rohilkhand respectively.

Muhammad Shah (1719-48)

The most important incident of the reign of Muhammad Shah was an invasion from the West led by the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah. By dint of merit Nadir had risen above his compeers and attained the envious position of a ruler in 1736. Born in 1688 in the Afshar tribe he early gave proofs of his ambition by capturing

Khurasan. He entered the service of the Shah of Persia in 1727, and nine years later himself assumed the sceptre. He was especially dissatisfied with the Moghul Emperor, Muhammad Shah, because in the first place the latter had broken off all diplomatic relations with Persia; secondly, he had given protection to certain Persian refugees; and thirdly, he sent no reply to the messages of the Shah but even detained the envoys. Nadir Shah felt insulted and captured Kabul and Ghazni. He then entered India and proceeded to Delhi. But Muhammad Shah up to the last moment was immersed in his enjoyments and wine parties. Ultimately he called Asaf Jah from the Deccan and Saadat Khan from Oudh to assist him against the Persian invader. The two armies met at Karnal and the Moghuls were ignominiously defeated. Further resistance being out of the question Saadat Khan came to an arrangement with Nadir Shah, who agreed to retire on receipt of a war indemnity of fifty lakhs. A misunderstanding between Asaf Khan and Saadat Khan changed the entire aspect of affairs. The latter induced Nadir to revoke his promise and to increase his demands.

Invasion of Nadir Shah

NADIR SHAH

Thereupon Nadir Shah imprisoned the Emperor and his nobles and went to Delhi. There he was welcomed by Muhammad Shah who received him with courtesy, and paid great honours to him. While the peaceful meetings were being held in the palace, a scene of a different

character was being enacted in the city. News spread that Nadir had been murdered, and the populace began to pelt the Persian soldiery with stones. When this was brought to the notice of the Shah he ordered a general massacre which lasted for five hours and was only stopped at the urgent request of the Emperor. Nadir Shah returned to his country after a stay of two months at Delhi. He took away the Peacock throne, and twenty lakhs of money. The nobles of Delhi were despoiled of all their wealth, and the western parts of the Moghul Empire were detached from it for ever.

Sack of Delhi

Nadir Shah left the Moghul Empire completely shattered, and not even the semblance of power remained in it. He himself did not long enjoy the ill-gotten wealth. In 1747 he was assassinated in Teheran, and his governor Ahmad Shah Abdali, proclaimed himself King of Kandahar, and tried to annex the Indian Provinces. He took Sirhind, but an Imperial army marched against him and his further advance was checked (1748). In the same year the Emperor died and his son, Ahmad Shah, came to the throne with the help of Safdar Jang, son-in-law of Saadat Khan of Oudh. His six years' reign was marked by the quarrel between the Irani party led by Safdar, and the Turani party led by Ghaziuddin, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk. The former solicited the help of Abdali, and the latter of the Marathas. Ghaziuddin with their help dethroned the Emperor, blinded him, and sent him to prison.

After Nadir Shah

Ahmad Shah (1748-56)

The Moghul Empire was now completely dismembered. Gujarat was under the Marathas, Bengal under Allahvardi Khan, Oudh under Shuja-ud-Daula, the Panjab under Abdali, the Deccan partly under the Marathas, and partly under the Nizam, and the Carnatic under its independent Nawab.

Alamgir II (1754-59)

Further, Ghaziuddin had imprisoned all the members of the royal family, with the exception of Shah Alam who had fled to Oudh. His interference with the government of the Panjab brought about the second invasion of Abdali in 1759. The Abdali marched upon Delhi, and occupied it, but retired owing to the breaking out of cholera in his camp. The conduct of the Emperor, however, during the course of the invasion did not satisfy Ghaziuddin and he murdered him. He was soon after driven out of Delhi.

Shah Alam (1759-1805)

Shah Alam was not a ruler of Delhi, but stayed mostly either with the Vizier of Oudh or under the protection of the English. He was invited to Delhi by the Marathas in 1771, and was placed on the throne, the real power being wielded by his protectors.

The occupation of Delhi by the Marathas, and their interference with the Moghul affairs brought about the third invasion of Abdali, when he met them on the field of Panipat. In the following section the growth of the Maratha power up to 1761 will be traced.

Rise of the Peshwas

It has been noted above that Sahu was released by Bahadur Shah and sent to his own country. A stay of nearly 25 years at the Moghul court made him weak and indolent. The administration naturally drifted into the hands of the Asht-pradhan and henceforward the rise of the Peshwas became an important factor in Maratha history.

Balaji Vishwanath (1714-1720)

Balaji was the first of the long line of Peshwas who contributed so much to the growth of the Maratha Empire. He made Peshwaship hereditary in his family. This produced a serious effect on the Maratha Empire. A complicated revenue system was introduced, and the Maratha army was reorganized. By these means he established a strong and powerful kingdom. He then determined to extend the Maratha Empire. He went to the aid of the Sayyid brothers against the Emperor, and

secured very valuable privileges for the Marathas. They received the right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the whole Deccan; also the territories possessed by the kingdom of Shivaji were confirmed to them.

Baji Rao I (1720-40)

He was succeeded by his son Baji Rao I in 1720. At this time a number of officers had risen into prominence, and were establishing their influence on their followers. They were Malhar Rao Holkar, the founder of the Indore State, Ranoji Sindhia, who had been the Peshwa's slipper-bearer and had carved out a large principality for himself, Pilaji Gaekwar who became supreme in Baroda, and Parsaji Bhonsle who established himself in Berar. All of them founded powerful kingdoms, and their descendants rule in Gwalior, Indore and Baroda to this day. The Peshwa had to face a very difficult situation, for a combination of these chieftains would have led to the destruction of the Maratha Empire. He therefore tried to keep them apart and did not give them any opportunity of acquiring extraordinary powers. Each of them was entrusted with the duty of realizing *chauth* from a particular area. Gujarat was assigned to the Gaekwar; Berar to Bhonsle; and Malwa to Holkar and Sindhia. Of the last two, the former made Indore his headquarters, and the latter chose Gwalior. These arrangements were designed to prevent the disruption of the Maratha Empire. Baji Rao I's ambition was to extend the Maratha power in Hindustan. The Gaekwar conquered Gujarat while Holkar and Sindhia conquered Malwa. The Peshwa personally led his forces and attacked the Moghul Emperor's capital. The weak Emperor sought the aid of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Despite his help, the Marathas emerged victorious. By a treaty at Seronje in 1738 the Marathas obtained possession of the province of Malwa and the territories between the Chambal and the Narbada, and a promise of the payment of fifty lakhs from the

Moghul Emperor. One of the officers of Baji Rao captured the fortress of Bassein from the Portuguese.

Baji Rao I was the greatest of all the Peshwas. It was owing to his diplomacy, shrewdness and prudence that the disruptive forces in the Maratha Empire failed to assert themselves, and the unity of the Maratha Empire was maintained. Under his rule the various Maratha chiefs acted together for the same ends. Hence the dazzling successes of the Marathas. In 1740 he died and was succeeded by Balaji Baji Rao, his son.

Balaji Baji Rao (1740-1761)

His peshwaship may be divided into two periods, a period of splendour, and a period of decline. Till 1760 Balaji Baji Rao was successful everywhere; after that he suffered a humiliating defeat in 1761. The Maratha Empire extended to the greatest limits, but received a shattering, though not a final, blow. He continued the policy of his able and wise father. The Bhonsle of Berar overran Orissa, and imposed a humiliating peace on the Subedar of Bengal. Holkar conquered and occupied many places in Bundelkhand; while Raghoba entered Lahore in 1758. Mysore and the Carnatic were invaded by the Peshwa himself. The sons of the Nizam-ul-mulk,, Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali wanted to win back Ahmadnagar from the Peshwa who had conquered it, but they were defeated at Udgir in 1760 and were compelled to part with some of their important forts like Daulatabad, Asirgarh and Bijapur, and certain portions of their territories, e.g. more than half of the province of Aurangabad. Thus in 1760 the Maratha Empire had reached its farthest limits, extending from the banks of the Indus to the Godavari and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. They had succeeded in defeating the Moghuls, the Nizam, the Jats, and the Rajputs.

Only a year afterwards, the Marathas suffered a severe defeat. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had invaded India in 1758, left his son as Viceroy of the Panjab. The

Peshwa's brother, Raghoba, however, entered Lahore in 1758, and turned out the Viceroy. Ahmad Shah Abdali determined to chastise the intruders, and crossed the Indus for the purpose. He was joined by the Rohillas and the Pathan tribes. The Marathas by their pride and rashness alienated the sympathy of the Jats and other Hindu tribes. To oppose the invader, the Peshwa sent a strong army under the command of Sadashiva Bhao who was placed nominally under the leadership of the Peshwa's son, Vishwas Rao. The army of the Peshwa was larger than that of the Afghan invader; but the latter contained better fighting material, and its generalship was superior to that of the Marathas.

The defeat of the Marathas—the Battle of Panipat, 1761

In the struggle, the Marathas had initial advantages. The Maratha guns were extremely well served and wrought havoc in the ranks of the Afghans. Their right wing and centre suffered terribly; but the left wing of the Afghans stood firm as a rock in spite of terrible Maratha attacks. Up till now the Marathas had the advantage, when Ahmad Shah Abdali launched a tremendous attack. He pierced the Maratha centre with two bodies of cavalry, whilst two other bodies of cavalry which had been held in reserve attacked the flanks. This was totally unexpected. The centre gave way, and in a very short time victory was changed into defeat. The Marathas became a mob, and were pursued by the victors. Most of the prominent Hindu leaders died on the battlefield. The number of Marathas slain at Panipat was enormous. The Peshwa died of a broken heart at Poona in June, 1761.

If the advice of Holkar and other Maratha leaders had been followed, the enemy might have been defeated. Their suggestion was that the Maratha forces should adopt guerilla tactics, and cut off the enemy's sources of supply by burning and ruining the villages near by. The haughty and proud Maratha commander would not pay any attention to their advice. As a result of this defeat the Maratha

confederacy was broken up, and the Marathas received a blow from which they never recovered.

Madho Rao (1761-72)

Madho Rao, who succeeded Balaji Baji Rao, made heroic efforts for the recovery of Maratha prestige. Haider Ali had gained possession of large tracts of Maratha country, but he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Peshwa and was forced to cede certain districts and pay thirty-two lacs of rupees. The Peshwa led an expedition to the Carnatic. The position of Haider Ali became so critical that he was forced to agree to the proposals offered by the Marathas. The Marathas crossed the Chambal, overran the Rajput States, and invaded the Jat territories. In 1771 Sindhia overran Rohilkhand, and entered into negotiations with the Moghul Emperor whereby the latter was brought completely under the control of the Marathas. Had Madho Rao lived longer, he would have established Maratha supremacy in Hindustan. Even so, his short rule restored the prestige of the Marathas. He was a brilliant general, a good administrator, and a shrewd diplomat.

Narain Rao (1772-73)

When Madho Rao died a premature death in 1772, his brother Narain Rao became the Peshwa. He was, however, murdered soon after his succession.

Madho Rao II (1773-95)

Now the Peshwaship was claimed by two persons, Raghoba, and Nana Farnavis who acted as regent for the posthumous son of Narain Rao. Hence a long and tedious war broke out between their followers. In this war the East India Company took part. The war is described in the chapter on Warren Hastings. It ended in 1782, so far as the Marathas and the English were concerned. But the war against the Mysore state, whose ruler now was Tipu Sultan, was continued by the Marathas. The combined forces of the Nizam and the Marathas succeeded in dealing a serious blow to Tipu's power. He had consequently to cede some portions of his kingdom.

Soon after relations between the Nizam and the Marathas became estranged. Nana Farnavis, who was a clever diplomat and a great administrator, once again united the various Maratha chieftains. He made a demand of *chauth* from the Nizam. The latter, expecting the support of the English, refused. So the Maratha forces invaded his territories. Sir John Shore followed the policy of non-intervention, and the Company kept aloof from this conflict. The result was that the Nizam was defeated at Kharda in 1795. The Marathas seized a large tract of land, and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity.

Nana Farnavis

Nana Farnavis played a leading part at this period. He was one of the ablest of Maratha statesmen, and showed a wonderful mixture of diplomacy and generalship in his dealings with the Bombay government. His great triumph came when Madho Rao was acknowledged Peshwa. His ascendancy was unchallenged, and he practically ruled the country, but the helpless Peshwa committed suicide, and his successor Baji Rao II arrested and imprisoned Nana Farnavis. Peace was afterwards made between the two, but he did not succeed in checking the rivalries of the Maratha chieftains. He died in 1800.

Baji Rao II (1795-1818)

A civil war broke out between the two Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar. Each of them wanted to establish his ascendancy in the Peshwa councils. The Peshwa first allied himself with Sindhia. But after the defeat of the latter, he sought the help of the English. He signed the treaty of Bassein in 1802. By signing this treaty the Peshwa sacrificed his independence and was reduced to the position of a vassal. The office of the Peshwas was now discredited, and he lost all prestige. The Maratha chiefs opposed the treaty, and this began Wellesley's war with the Marathas. This has been described in the chapter on Wellesley. The last stand of the Peshwa was made in 1818, when he called upon the Maratha chiefs to assert

their independence, and fight unitedly against the English. He collected an army, but before the other Maratha leaders could join he was defeated at Khirkee, Ashti and again at Koregaon. The other Maratha leaders were defeated in succession by the English. The Maratha confederacy disappeared in 1818, and not a single independent Maratha province remained. The office of Peshwa was abolished, and Baji Rao was allowed to reside at Bithur near Cawnpore, where he lived for many years. His adopted son Nana Sahib made himself infamous by his barbarities in the Mutiny. Such was the rise and fall of the great Peshwaship. It is not difficult to trace the causes of the downfall of the Marathas. The first and foremost cause was the mutual jealousies of the Maratha chiefs, the Peshwas, Sindhia, Holkar, Gaekwar and Bhonsle. Their personal ambitions did not always allow them to combine against their common enemy. Secondly, the Maratha administration had failed to enlist the support and sympathy of their subjects. Moreover, as the Marathas were constantly waging wars against Indian rulers, Hindu and Muslim, they also lost the support of all possible allies. So great indeed was the terror of the Marathas that the other Indian rulers turned to the English for help against them. Moreover, they also neglected to develop commerce and industry.

Their armies were not so efficient as the Company's troops. Some European officers had trained the armies of a few Maratha chieftains, but they were not sufficient to leaven the mass. Again, it is doubtful whether the Maratha armies gained by changing their peculiar method of guerilla warfare, and fighting pitched battles. They were so busy conquering and invading that they had no time to organize efficient administration in these territories.

Date		Events
A.D.		
1707	..	Accession of Bahadur Shah.
1710	..	Sikh rebellion.
1712	..	Death of Bahadur Shah; accession of Jahandar Shah.
1713	..	Accession of Farrukhsiyar.
1719	..	Murder of Farrukhsiyar; accession of Muhammad Shah.
1724	..	Asaf Jah founded the dynasty of Nizams in the Deccan.
1724	..	Saadat Ali Khan made himself independent in Oudh.
1734	..	Ali Muhammad Khan made himself independent in Rohilkhand.
1739	..	Invasion of Nadir Shah.
1740	..	Independence of Bengal.
1748	..	Death of Muhammad Shah; accession of Ahmad Shah.
1754	..	Ahmad Shah deposed; accession of Alamgir II.
1756	..	Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Abdali; death of Alamgir II.
1759	..	Second invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
1759–1805	..	Shah Alam.
1771	..	Shah Alam invited to Delhi by Mahadji Scindhia.
		RISE OF THE PESHWA
1714–1720	..	Balaji Viswanath, the First Peshwa.
1720	..	Treaty with Muhammad Shah, recognizing the right of the Marathas to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan.
1720–1740	..	Baji Rao, the Second Peshwa.
1737	..	The Marathas appear before Delhi.
1738	..	Nizam-ul-Mulk defeated by the Marathas at Bhopal.
1740–1761	..	Balaji Rao, the Third Peshwa.
1758	..	Raghoba entered Lahore.
1759	..	Ahmad Shah returned to the Panjab.
1760	..	Sadashiva Bhao occupied Delhi
1761	..	Third Battle of Panipat.
1761–1772	..	Madho Rao, the Fourth Peshwa.
1772–1773	..	Narain Rao, the Fifth Peshwa.
1773–1795	..	Madho Rao II, the Sixth Peshwa.
1795	..	The Nizam defeated at the battle of Kharda.
1795–1818	..	Baji Rao II, the Seventh Peshwa.
1802	..	Treaty of Bassein.
1818	..	Disappearance of the Maratha Confederacy; abolition of the office of the Peshwa.

CHAPTER VII

Civilization of the Moghuls

The Indian Empire was ruled by the Moghuls for about three centuries, and during this long period of their supremacy they made valuable contributions to Indian civilization. The liberal and statesmanlike outlook of the great rulers of this dynasty brought the people into closer touch with the government. Their patronage of art and literature raised the status of their Empire in the estimation of the world, and the fame of their culture, no less than the renown of their conquests, reached the farthest corners of the globe. Let us now study in brief outline the condition of the Moghul Empire from this point of view.

The Moghul Government

There is no denying the fact that the Moghul Government was essentially a military despotism, but it was a distinct departure from the absolutism of the Delhi Sultans, inasmuch as the Moghul sovereigns always kept in mind the welfare of the people. They did not content themselves merely with the maintenance of law and order within their dominions and with giving peace and security from the ever-recurring invasions from the North-western side; nor were their activities confined merely to the improvement of their military power and the collection of revenues from the subjects. They were always solicitous for the welfare of their subjects. Akbar repeatedly gave instructions to his officers that they should "be a friend to rayats." His successors Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb followed the tradition as far

as they could. Religious toleration was not merely preached, but practised. Babur is said to have given instructions to his son Humayun that he should not interfere with the religious observances, practices, and beliefs of his subjects. In the period (1540–1555) of the rule of the Surs this policy received great encouragement. Sher Shah treated Hindus and Muslims impartially. He appointed Hindus like Raja Ram and Brahmajit Gaur to high posts, built *serais* where he arranged for the free distribution of food to Hindus and Muslims, and never interfered with the Hindu religion. When Akbar came to the throne, he went much further. In 1564 he abolished the Jizya tax which the Hindus had to pay. He began the policy of reconciling the two great communities of Hindus and Muslims by matrimonial alliances. To remove the differences that had hitherto existed between the two communities, capable Hindus were also given opportunities of serving the state. By this means, he enlisted the devotion and sympathy of the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular. Jahangir realized and understood the expediency and wisdom of the policy of religious toleration, and therefore, he adhered to it. During the reign of Shahjahan, we find a slight change. He had the good sense to perceive that religion should not influence state policy. All this tended to promote goodwill and unity between the Hindus and Muslims; and although Aurangzeb's attitude unfortunately impaired these relations, his death removed all traces of hostility. On the eve of the Mutiny, we find the Hindus and Muslims living peacefully, and on amicable terms. The Moghul rulers, as we shall see later, encouraged and patronized art and culture both of the Hindus and Muslims. Thus we find that Moghul government was a paternal government and was also national.

The King was regarded as the highest executive and judicial authority in the state. He was, in theory, a full-fledged autocrat. There were no checks or limits to his

power. In practice, however, he always consulted his ministers, though it depended on his sweet will to follow or disregard their advice. He had no legislative authority in matters which were dealt with according to *Shariat*. The fear of rebellions was another practical check on his authority. The Emperor was helped in the discharge of his duties by a number of ministers, of whom four were important. The chief adviser and assistant of the emperor was known as the Vakil. The minister in charge of the department of Finance was called a Wizir or *Diwan*. The Bakhshi was the minister of war, and the Sadri Sudur was the minister of religion and the highest ecclesiastical officer of the state. For administrative convenience, the vast empire was divided into a number of provinces unequal in area. The *Subedar* was the head of the provincial administration and was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his province. The army was under his command. With a view to check and control, the Diwan in charge of the Finance department of the province was given final authority in financial matters. Besides this, the financial subedars and diwans were required to send periodical reports of their work to the Imperial Secretariat; and the latter directly appointed a number of waqianawis (reporters) in each province. They were required to report to the Central Government every important event in their province. By these means the chances of the provincial governors becoming independent were considerably reduced. In the discharge of his duties, the subedar was aided by a number of faujdars, generally one in each district, and likewise, the diwan was helped by qanungos and patwaris. In the villages, the village communities continued to function.

The organization of Imperial departments was very efficient as we have seen in previous chapters. Some of our modern departments, especially the revenue, are based on the Moghul system. They were, of course, not so elaborate as modern departments, but they satisfied the wants

of the people, and justly and impartially ruled the country. The Moghul government was never regarded as a foreign government. They did not owe allegiance to a foreign country, and devoted their energy to the development of the country which they regarded as their own.

Art of the Moghuls

Like the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate the Moghuls were great patrons of art. Some of them were themselves artists. Babur possessed a genuine love and appreciation for art. Never did he miss an opportunity of describing beautiful scenes of nature which struck his imagination. Humayun was a keen admirer of "caligraphy and painting." Akbar's tastes were artistic. He was very fond of architecture and painting.

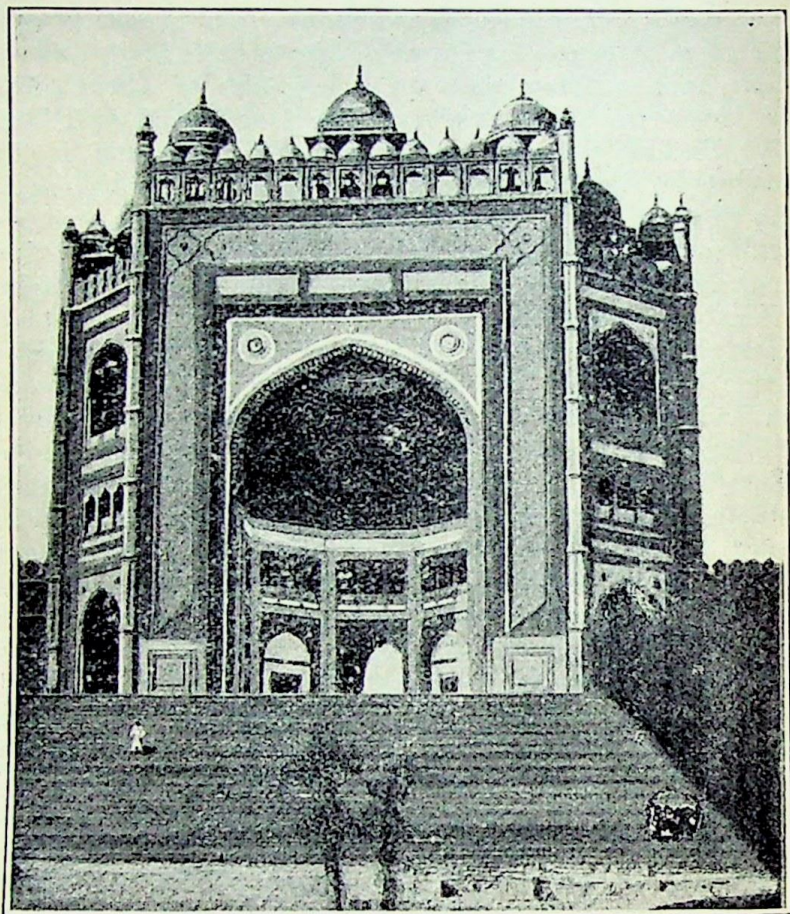
Jahangir's main interest lay in painting, which during his reign reached its high watermark. Shahjahan's interest in art was of a different nature. He was a patron of architecture. After him a rapid decline occurred in the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors. The causes of the development of the art during the Moghul period were three. Firstly, the kings were themselves great lovers of art. Secondly, they inherited healthy traditions from their predecessors. Thirdly, the country was peaceful and prosperous, and this is necessary for the growth of all forms of art. The decline which set in after the death of Aurangzeb was due partly to the lack of patronage and partly to the exhaustion of the country.

Architecture

The noblest monuments to Moghul glory are their buildings, which have aroused the wonder and admiration of the world. Babur made several gardens round Agra, but none of them exist now. Two of Humayun's buildings are extant, but in a ruined condition. Their style is, however, more Persian than Indian. The plan of the tomb of Humayun is the same as that of Shahjahan in the Taj Mahal. Under Akbar, architecture made considerable progress. He built the Red Palace in Agra Fort. It was made of red

sandstone of an ordinary quality, hence some of its ornaments have not withstood the weather. It bears the impress of Akbar's vigour and originality. It is, however, at Fatehpur Sikri that "Akbar must be judged as a builder." The Palace at Fatehpur Sikri is larger than the Agra Palace. Its Diwan-i-Khas is exceedingly beautiful. This building gives us a clear idea of Akbar's love of architecture. It shows a harmonious blend of Hindu and Muslim elements. The glory of Fatehpur is its mosque, which is hardly excelled by any in India. It is crowned by three domes, and its courtyard contains the tombs of Sheikh Salim Chishti and Islam Khan. The most beautiful part of this mosque is the Buland Darwaza, which was completed in 1575. It stands on a raised platform and, when looked at from below, its appearance is noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the world. Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra was begun in 1595, but it remained incomplete in his reign. Its plan was borrowed from a Buddhist Vihar. Had it been completed, it would have ranked as next to the Taj. Among other buildings of Akbar may be mentioned Bir Bal's Palace, Jodh Bai's Mahal, and Panch Mahal, which were built of red sandstone, in the Hindu style. During the reign of Jahangir no buildings comparable to those of his father or son were constructed, as he took more interest in painting than architecture. Of the buildings of his reign, Jahangiri Mahal and the tomb of Itmaduddaula are noteworthy. The chief points of interest are two. Firstly, the use of hard granites and red sandstone was given up for softer materials, i.e. marble. In the latter building there is an exclusive use of marble. The second thing that we find is the beginning of *pietra dura* work, i.e., the inlay of precious coloured stones in marble.

This is indicative of a growing taste for greater ornamentation. It was reserved for Shahjahan to erect the finest buildings in the country. The Palace in Delhi Fort,

the Diwan-i-Am, the Diwan-i-Khas, the Jam-i-Masjid at Delhi, and above all the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid at Agra, are some of the marvellous creations of this

BULAND DARWAZA, FATEHPUR-SIKRI

mighty builder. The Pearl Mosque in the Agra Fort is regarded as the most perfect example of symmetrical building. It is made entirely of marble. It has no orna-

mentation. Though simple it is graceful. The Taj Mahal is a complete contrast to this. The Taj was built to commemorate Shahjahan's love of his wife, Mumtaz Mahal, and is regarded by everyone as one of the finest buildings in the world. It has symmetry, decoration, beauty and grace. These buildings show to the world the glory of Indian art and its supremacy in architecture.

Aurangzeb is credited with no building of great excellence. In his time both architecture and painting languished. His Moti Masjid in the Delhi Fort is far inferior to its sister building in Agra, and scarcely escapes the charge of bad taste! After him the style further deteriorated, and art declined.

Painting

Before the advent of the Moghuls in India, painting was a neglected art in the Delhi Sultanate. The orthodoxy of the Delhi Sultans prevented its growth. The Moghul rulers made a departure from these traditions. Liberal in their outlook and brought up in a free atmosphere, the artistic taste of the Moghuls displayed itself in painting also. Painting was almost entirely dependent on the patronage of the Moghul Emperors and their nobles. It was begun by Humayun, and was greatly encouraged by Akbar. It reached its high watermark in the reign of Jahangir; and the standard was maintained to a great extent in Shahjahan's time; but in Aurangzeb's reign it declined rapidly.

Moghul paintings, like Moghul architecture, combined the best elements of Hindu and Persian traditions. Hindus had painted exquisite works of art long before the advent of the Moghuls. Most of their paintings were mural. Generally they were painted on the walls. There are very few specimens of book-painting; and those too are crude. Due to lack of patronage during the Sultanate period, art further declined though it did not completely disappear. When Humayun came from Persia to India, he brought artists from Herat. Under the guidance and supervision of these men, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi and Khwajah Abd-us-

Samad of the Bihzad school, painting was revived and Hindus were employed largely and freely.

The chief feature of Moghul painting was the painting of miniatures. In this style great stress is laid on the delineation of character; and its success depends upon its line and colour. The subject-matter was mostly secular, and the art was essentially aristocratic.

Humayun ordered the two painters he had brought from Herat to illustrate a book of stories, *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*. Akbar learnt the alphabet of painting from Samad. During the reign of Akbar, the art of painting passed through many stages. For a long time the painting of Amir-i-Hamza was continued. Its art is essentially Persian, though one detects in the illustrations an Indian element. The importance of these paintings lies in the fact that they form an important and definite link between the union of the Persian and Indian schools; and in this work both Hindus and Muslims co-operated. Gradually the comprehensive genius of Akbar realized the merit of Hindu art, and he employed a large number of them along with Persians to paint the walls of the palace at Sikri. The style is partly Indian and partly Persian. After 1575 Akbar tried to revive miniature painting. For this purpose he organized a department, where Muslims and Hindus were employed. The secret of colour was learnt from the Persians. Akbar opened a library where the painters could read books on art and see specimens of the master minds of foreign countries. Thus painting made great progress under Akbar. The effect of Akbar's work was to lay the foundations of a distinct school of painting, though the truth is that during his reign the Persian and Hindu styles developed on parallel lines and did not unite. If we arrange the paintings of his reign chronologically, we shall find four groups. The first group is represented by the illustrations of Babarnama and Darabnama, in which Sanwlah's paintings are best. The second group is represented by Timurnama and Razmnama

(Mahabharata). They are better than those of the former group. The third group consists of Baharistan and Khamsah. Here the art is mature. Instead of the paintings being the work of two or three men, they are mostly the work of one. Basawan is at his best in some of these paintings. The last group is represented by Akbarnamah. Strangely enough, its paintings are not of the first rank. Among the painters of his reign, Abd-us-Samad, Mir Sayyid Ali, Farrukh Beg, Aqa Riza, Daswanth, Basawan, Lal and Sanwlah were great artists.

The settled condition of the Empire and the artistic and critical personality of Jahangir made it possible for the two parallel progressing arts to fuse into one. Painting reached its climax under Jahangir. The most important artists of his time were Farrukh Beg, Muhammad Nadir, Muhammad Murad, Abdul Hasan, Ustad Mansur, Bishundao, Manohar and Daulat. Under Akbar, we find more pictures of sieges and battles; under Jahangir, there is a greater variety. Jahangir loved everything beautiful, be it a flower or a creeper, a duck or a cock, a man or a woman. Portraits continued to be painted. Mansur was the best painter of birds and flowers. His paintings of subjects such as a jonquil, goats, peafowl, and a Turkey cock are most charming. In the delineation of character in a painting, Manohar excelled all others. There are some paintings which show that Indians of Jahangir's time were not ignorant of landscape painting or of the idea of perspective. Such was the excellence of the art in his reign that even Sir Thomas Roe had to praise, though grudgingly, the work of the court painters. The death of Jahangir was an irreparable blow to the art of painting. Shahjahan was not disinterested in it, but he had more taste for architecture. Due to his lack of patronage, the art of painting began to show signs of decline, though it did not actually die. The art became decentralized and artists did not receive due attention and patronage. More-

over, there appeared a taste for highly decorated paintings. Over-ornamentation began, and this was a sure sign of decline. During his reign no painting was considered complete, unless it had a broad and highly ornamented border. The four noteworthy painters in Shah Jahan's reign were Anupchitra, Chitramani, Muhammad Faqirulla and Mir Hashim. Though some of the paintings of his time are charming, most of them are not first rate. Dara Shikoh was one of those who took a keen interest in painting. His collection of 40 paintings is excellent and shows his love of the art. Few of these are of outstanding merit. In short the Moghul painting was a living art in 1656. The period from 1657 to 1750 may be termed the period of "lingering death." During this period several factors combined to arrest the growth of painting. Generally Aurangzeb's puritanism has been regarded as the chief reason for its decadence. That view, however, does not command universal acceptance, because some paintings of his time are extant. The main reason for its decline was the decay of the Empire.

Patronage of learning

The Moghul Emperors were also great patrons of learning. We shall study the growth and development of literature in its twofold aspects—classical and vernacular. The same factors which brought about the great progress of architecture and painting, namely, the peace and prosperity of the country and the personality of the monarchs were responsible for the development of literature. Babur was himself a highly cultured man. He knew Persian, Turki and Arabic. It is said that he could compose poems. He has left behind his "Memoirs" in the Turki language. This book is of the utmost value to a student of history, because it gives a full and frank account of the important events which he witnessed. He used to associate himself with the learned men of his time. His son and successor, Humayun, was also a scholar with a mystic turn of mind; and like his father took delight in the company

of learned men. He was deeply interested in geography and astronomy and always carried books with him. His servant and companion in adversity, Jauhar, has left behind his *Taz-kirat-ul-Waqiat*. The period of Akbar's rule witnessed the golden age of Persian literature in India. Among the celebrated works of history produced during his reign mention may be made of Mulla Daud's *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhbut Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badaoni, the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the *Akbarnamah* of Faizi Sirhindi, and the *Maasir-i-Rahimi*. Abul Fazl was considered the greatest writer of his age. He had full command over style and vocabulary and could write with great ease and facility. His style was ornate but is clear and chaste. His two works, *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah*, will ever remain a monument of his literary genius and shed lustre on the period. He also wrote a large number of letters, many of which are still studied by students of Persian literature. His brother Faizi was also a great letter-writer. His style, however, was simple and clear. The writings of these two brothers breathe a liberal atmosphere, the writers being Muslim mystics. To bridge the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims, Akbar ordered the translation into Persian of some of the gems of Sanskrit literature. The orthodox Abdul Qadir Badaoni was ordered to translate Valmiki's *Ramayana* and a portion of the *Mahabharata*, the two great epics of the Hindus. Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi translated the *Atharva Veda;* and Naqib Khan, the *Mahabharata,* renamed *Razmnamah*. Faizi translated *Lilavati*, a standard work on arithmetic. Among the poets of his time, Ghizali's name comes first. He was a native of Persia. He fled from his motherland to the Deccan in order to escape persecution. Failing to receive royal favour in the Deccan he went north and found shelter and patronage under Akbar, and was made the Poet-Laureate of India. He was a liberal Sufi; and his

works *Mirat-ul-Kainat, Naqsh-i-Badi,* and *Israr-i-Maktum* breathe a liberal spirit. The second Poet-Laureate of his time was Faizi. The most famous of his works is his Masnavi *Nala-o-Daman,* which deals with the story of Nala and Damayanti. The book possesses such abiding literary charm that even Abdul Qadir Badaoni, the orthodox critic and historian of Akbar's reign, is forced to admire it and write that since the days of Amir Khusrau no one had produced such a masnavi. The best writer of lyrics in Persian was Muhammad Husain Naziri. Sayyid Jamaluddin Urfi was another writer of ghazals. His lyrics, though not as elegant as those of Naziri, possess the fire of poetry. He is remembered more for his odes (qasidas) than for his lyrics, in which domain he was supreme. Thus we see that Akbar's reign is remarkable for works of history, letters, poetry and translation. In the days of his son, who possessed great taste for literature, we find a number of histories. Jahangir himself wrote his "Memoirs," which give a first-hand account of the events of his reign. Works on history continued to be written. The most important histories written during his reign are the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri,* the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri,* and the *Zub-d-ut-Tawarikh.* These healthy traditions were continued by Shahjahan. The *Padshahnamah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the *Padshahnamah* of Amin Qazvini, the *Shahjahannamah* of Inayet Khan and the *Amal Salih* of Muhammad Salih are the most important histories of his reign. His court contained a good many poets like Gilani, Kalim, Qudsi and Salim, but none of them was a poet of outstanding merit. It has been truly said that the glories of the reign of Shahjahan are truly depicted in the buildings and not the literature of his time. No account of the literary activities of his period will be complete without a word about Dara Shikoh. The eldest son of Shahjahan, he was a great mystic, deeply interested in religious and philosophical literature. His mission in life was Hindu-Muslim unity.

To that end, he ordered the translation of the Upanishads, the *Bhagavat Gita* and the *Yoga Vashishtha* into Persian. He himself wrote a large number of books. In his *Majmua-al-Bahrain*, he has tried to give the parallel words and ideas of Hindu and Islamic mysticism. *Safinat-ul-Aulia* and *Sakinat-ul-Aulia* contain biographies of saints including Mian Mir, the spiritual teacher of Dara. Aurangzeb was deeply interested in Islamic theology and jurisprudence. *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* was written by his orders. *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri* is a collection of the letters of Aurangzeb. He did not encourage poetry and the writing of histories. Private persons, however, wrote them. Khafi Khan wrote *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*. Even Hindus like Sujan Rai Khatri, Ishwar Das and Bhimsen wrote histories in Persian language. The later Moghuls, though unable to maintain the stability of the Empire, were patrons of learning. Muhammad Shah was himself a poet, and at his court Urdu poetry was encouraged and flourished. Before passing on to other literatures, let it be noted that women also made contributions to Persian literature. Gulbadan Begum wrote a history, *Humayun-namah;* and Zebunnissa, who was a poetess, wrote a large number of poems which are collected in the *Diwan-i-Makhfi*.

The vernacular literatures also developed rapidly. Hindi was spoken in Delhi and Agra, the capital and chief towns of the Moghul Empire, and made great progress. Malik Muhammad Jayasi, a Muslim and a Sufi, used the Awadhi dialect of Hindi to write his *Padmavat,* in the reign of Sher Shah. His book is written in *dohas* and *chaupais,* in which metre Tulsidas later on wrote the *Ramacharitmanas.* Padmavat relates the well-known story of Alauddin and Padmavati. It is regarded as a gem of Hindi literature. In the days of Akbar, Hindi literature reached its climax. Tulsidas and Surdas were his contemporaries. Surdas is generally believed to have been a singer at Akbar's court. He wrote his *Sursagar* in Braj

Bhasha, which for its sweet melody, and treatment of divine love and devotion to Krishna ranks amongst the best books of Hindi literature. Tulsidas was a versatile genius. Twelve works are ascribed to him. Two of these are specially noteworthy. *Ramacharitmanas,* popularly known as *Ramayana,* is written in the Awadhi dialect. This epic describes the story of Rama and Sita. Both as a religious and a literary production, it has no equal in Hindi literature. The story is written in a most natural way. Its moral tone is very high. It has received universal praise both from Indian and European critics. This book became very popular and exercised a great and useful influence on the Hindu mind. He has rightly been compared to Shakespeare and Kalidas. The second book *Vinayapatrika* is a collection of his songs in praise of various gods and goddesses. These songs are very musical, and are still sung. Akbar extended his patronage to Hindi poets, among them being Ganga, Narahari and Birbal. These court-poets, however, produced nothing remarkable. Abdur-Rahim's *Khan-i-Khana* deserves special mention. His poems, which are still read with great interest, possess considerable literary merit. During the period of the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, the literary output was considerable. The court patronage continued to be extended to Hindi poets, but a change came in the trend of Hindi literature due to court influence. Greater attention was paid to the externals of poetry. Among the poets of the seventeenth century, Keshavadas, Bihari, Deva, Bhushan and Raskhan deserve mention. Keshavadas was the first poet to write on poetics. His works, *Kavi Priya, Ramachandrika,* and *Rasik Priya* are all treatises on the same subject. Bihari and Deva are the best examples of the artistic and sentimental poets of their time. Bihari's *Satsai* contains 700 *dohas.* Though they are not easy to understand, their literary merit is undoubted. The poet's facility of expression and mastery over language are clearly visible. Deva

wrote a large number of works. Raskhan, a Muslim, was a great devotee of Lord Krishna. His *Premvatika* is a collection of Kavittas and Savaiyas. These poems are full of his intense love and devotion to Lord Krishna. Bhushan was a poet of a different stamp. His works, *Shivaraj Bhushan, Chhatrashaldashak* and *Shiva Bawani,* though written in Braj Bhasha and in the style of the artistic poets, are heroic poems. He wrote them in praise of his patrons Chhatrashal and Shivaji. In the eighteenth century Hindi poetry like other arts declined. In Bengali literature, there was great activity. Kashiram and Mukunda Ram wrote *Chandi Karya* and *Srimanta Sadagar.* Alaol, a Muslim, translated the *Padmavat* of Jayasi into Bengali. In Maharashtra, Ramdas composed *Dasbodh*; and Tukaram, hymns. This period also saw the rise and growth of Urdu literature. There is no unanimity among scholars about the date and origin of Urdu language and literature. It is, however, agreed that Wali of Aurangabad (1668–1744) was the first noteworthy poet of the Urdu language. His ghazals, masnavis and rubayat became very popular and laid the foundation of Urdu poetry.

Commerce

When Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope he found the Indian seas from Madagascar to the Straits of Malacca practically in the possession of Muslim merchants. At the end of the fifteenth century the seaborne commerce of India was almost a Muslim monopoly though Bengali, Coromandel and Gujarat merchants had some share in it. Malabar was the emporium of almost the whole trade of the Indian seas. The imports included gold and silver from Sumatra and Java; animals, principally horses, from Arabia and Persia; raw silk, copper, tin, zinc, lead, quicksilver, ivory, coral and other similar products, required for the manufacture of fancy goods; luxury goods such as European wines, African slaves, China goods, perfumes drugs, etc.

The means of transport were the river routes and the unmetalled roads. The exports consisted of the fine textile fabrics of India,—muslins, calicoes, etc.—pepper, ginger, and other spices and drugs.

The Portuguese gradually displaced the Arabs on the high seas. Their power was firmly established from Mozambique to Malacca, and the sea-borne trade of Gujarat, Bijapur and Vijayanagar passed into their hands.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese power was greatly weakened and the oceanic trade passed into the hands of the English.

As regards inland trade Bengal muslins and rice were sold at Agra. Multani grain merchants plied their caravan trade between the Panjab and the Doab. Trade in grain was concentrated in the hands of the Banjaras. The main traffic down the Ganges consisted of salt from Rajputana. Textiles and indigo were the chief articles of trade in Sind. Gujarat imported foodstuffs from the north and east. The south was practically self-supporting.

European Travellers

The fame of India's wealth and the splendour of the court of the Moghul Emperors reached Europe, and a large number of missionaries and merchants came to India to spread the Christian religion and to share the trade profits. The Emperor Akbar invited some Jesuit missionaries to his court. During Jahangir's reign, Captain Hawkins, William Finch, Sir Thomas Roe, Tom Coryat, Pelsaert and Jourdain came to India. Peter Mundy, Sebastian Manrique, Bernier, Tavernier and Mannucci came to India in Shahjahan's time. Mannucci remained here for a long time in Aurangzeb's reign. The missionaries and travellers have left behind accounts of India as they saw it. These accounts are of inestimable value to us, because they help us in constructing the social history of the Moghul times, an aspect which few Indian historians thought it worthwhile to attempt; and also because they give us an idea of the practical working of the administrative institutions

established by Akbar and maintained by his successors. In reading their accounts, great caution is necessary as they are often based on gossip and hearsay, and do not appreciate Indian culture. The accounts left by Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Tavernier, Mannucci and John Marshall are most interesting and informing.

PART IV

CHAPTER I

The Beginning of European Settlements in India

The European countries at the present time have taken a lead in all the arts of civilization. They have developed railways; they have planted colonies all over the world. They can boast of a literature that is the glory of mankind. Their progress is, however, comparatively recent. By recent we do not mean one or two years, but from three to four centuries. For hundreds of years Europe remained in darkness. Her people were then on a level with the natives of Malaya, and the inhabitants of Mexico. They were unacquainted with the rudiments of civilization. Their ferocious manners, sublime ignorance, and strange ways excited the ridicule of the polished and the cultured Arabs and Greeks. However, a new movement began in Italy about the middle of the fifteenth century. The object of the founders of the movement was the freedom of the mind from the gross superstitions of the times by a closer and more intimate study of the works of Greeks and Romans. The masterpieces of Greek and Roman writers became the Bible of the founders of the movement in Italy. In the Italian cities, however, the movement was personal, and individualistic. It reformed the individual, but it ignored society, hence the Renaissance in Italy did not result in any striking movement of social or political reform. A monk in Florence, and one or two others in different parts of Italy, did no doubt try to reform the state; but their attempts met with no success. In other European countries, however, the movement assumed a new character. Instead of being

personal and passive, it became active and social. Most of the European countries had hitherto professed the Roman Catholic religion. When the Germans imbibed the doctrines of the Renaissance, they began to think for themselves. They began to doubt doctrines that had hitherto been regarded as true. Doubts grew into certainty after closer examination, and the Renaissance was changed later on into the Reformation. Thousands of people discarded the old faith, and became Protestants. Among the countries that adopted the new doctrines was England. A deadly enmity arose between the followers of the old and those of the new faith. The struggle did not end till the seventeenth century. The religious conflicts seemed to impart a fresh energy to the followers of the new faith, and Protestant England and Holland fought their Catholic foes with marvellous heroism.

Voyage of Vasco da Gama

The adventurous careers of the English and the Dutch sailors who cruised round the world are splendid examples of fortitude and valour. Their work in India will be narrated later on. First, we must deal with the Portuguese. The Arab conquest of Egypt and Persia in the seventh century had stopped direct communication between India and Europe. Thenceforward, all Indian wares which reached Europe had to pass through Muslim lands, and so were transported from the markets of the Levant to Venice which acquired a monopoly of eastern commerce. The Portuguese kings of the fifteenth century looked with envious eyes on the riches of Venice, and eagerly desired to obtain a share in the trade to the Indies. After various attempts by Portuguese sailors, Vasco da Gama succeeded in reaching Melinde in April 1498, and there obtained pilots competent to guide him to India. On May 20, 1498, he anchored at Calicut, which was then governed by a Hindu Prince known as the Zamorin. The jealousy of the Arab traders prevented Vasco da

Gama from establishing his influence, and he went home, reaching Lisbon at the end of August, 1499.

Next year, the King of Portugal despatched a large fleet under Pedro Alvares Cabral, who established a factory at Calicut, and obtained good cargoes at Cannanore and Cochin, which were ruled at that time by Hindu rulers. The Portuguese were very cruel to the Muslims, and their treatment of the Arabs made them very unpopular with a large and influential section of the people. The Moplah merchants, who resisted the intrusion of their Portuguese rivals, were subjected to horrible cruelties by the Portuguese commanders. Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy, who was in India from 1505–1509, did not believe in the policy of multiplying settlements on land. He held that Portugal did not possess enough men to fortify these places. He wanted factories mainly for the expansion of commerce. Albuquerque, another famous Viceroy, on the other hand, wished to found a Portuguese Empire in the East. In the first place, he desired to occupy certain important points for trading purposes, and to rule them directly. In the next place, he wanted to colonize the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the Indians. Again, when he could not conquer or colonize, he desired to build fortresses, and when this was impracticable, to induce the Indian kings to recognize the supremacy of the King of Portugal, and to pay him tribute.

Portuguese policy in India

Albuquerque was a man of very strong character, and was bold, persistent, and energetic. He was a fanatic, and was steeped in all the crude notions and violent prejudices of his age. In pursuit of his policy, the island of Goa was occupied in 1510. All Muslims were excluded from office, and Portuguese officers were appointed as *thanadars*, each combining criminal and revenue jurisdictions. Albuquerque wished to take the whole of the trade between

Albuquerque

the East and Europe away from the hands of the Muslims. With this object he conquered the flourishing town of Malacca on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in 1511. He also wished to destroy the trade carried on by the Muslims in the Red Sea, and attacked Aden. The Muslims defended the town heroically, and the Portuguese never succeeded in gaining an entry into the Red Sea. Albuquerque, however, succeeded in the Persian Gulf, and occupied the island of Ormuz in 1515. Albuquerque's policy of mixed marriages was not a success. His aim was to raise up a population, which should at once be loyal to Portugal, and satisfied to remain in India for life. He married hundreds of Portuguese gunners and artisans to Muslim and Hindu women. In this way a new class of Portuguese half-castes was created. He hoped by this means to have a large number of men of Portuguese descent, who would be able to defend the Portuguese possessions in the East, and to extend the bounds of the Empire. But this policy proved a failure, as it produced a feeble race, possessing no trace of those qualities to which the Europeans owe their success in the world.

Decline of Portuguese Power

The Portuguese dominion in India declined rapidly, as it was founded on essentially wrong principles. Instead of conferring on the inhabitants the blessings of civilization, and allowing freedom of worship to all its subjects, it subjected them to cruelties. The moderation which had characterized the early efforts of the Portuguese officers seemed to have deserted the Portuguese Government in the period of its decline. King John III, a relentless bigot, determined upon the wholesale conversion of all his subjects. He conceived the mad idea of compelling the people of India to adopt Christianity. The Inquisition had been established at Goa in 1560, and from the very beginning of its establishment, a monstrous religious persecution began. Converts who had relapsed were burnt

alive, and ingenious tortures were invented to terrorise the people. Many unlucky wretches who were supposed to be witches were tortured. These measures were sufficient to rouse the Indian inhabitants to fury; but religious intolerance was combined with a species of administrative corruption and moral laxity that have probably had no parallel in the history of India. The Portuguese rule on the Indian coasts decayed rapidly, and stronger and more virile races, like the Dutch and the English, easily conquered most of the Portuguese possessions. The Portuguese in India now rule three small settlements, Goa, Daman (100 miles north of Bombay), and Diu (in the south of Kathiawar). The Dutch and the English gradually drove out the Portuguese from all important points and one after another, most of the Portuguese settlements passed into their hands.

The coming of the Dutch to India

The rise of the Dutch power about the end of the sixteenth century marks the beginning of an interesting period in the history of mankind. The hardy, simple, and frugal burgesses and peasants whose sturdy independence and lofty spirit had been kindled into flame by the remorseless cruelty of Philip II of Spain, had now become adventurous sea-captains, heroic traders, and skilful generals. The Dutch refused to submit to the decrees of the Spanish monarch, and fought for freedom of conscience in their native land. They fought heroically, and defeated the mighty armies of the great Spanish Empire in a series of fights which excited the admiration even of their opponents. The fight with Spain for a number of years hardened the nation, and brought out the best qualities of the race. The Dutch sailors went in quest of trade and colonies far and near, and the United East India Company of the Dutch Netherlands which had been founded in 1602, sent out large fleets. Batavia in Java, founded in 1619, became the head-quarters of the Dutch Company, and is still the capital of Dutch India. They

captured Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, and obtained possession of Ceylon between 1638 and 1658.

The Dutch built their first fort on the mainland of India at Pulicat in 1609. From 1660, their principal station was Negapatam, on the Madras Coast. The settlements of the Dutch on the coast of India were neither considerable nor important. This was due to the fact that the Dutch realized the impossibility of founding an empire in India. They knew that such a project would entail an enormous expenditure of men and money, so they contented themselves with building small forts which could protect their trade. They never aimed at the foundation of an empire, but concentrated on the commerce of the Spice Islands in the Far East. They rightly thought that commerce at that period was more profitable and less risky, and they reaped a rich harvest by indulging in a species of monopoly which concentrated the entire trade of the whole area in their own hands.

Dutch Policy in India

It was not to be expected that English seamen would submit to these restrictions without demur. We therefore find intense rivalry between the English and the Dutch sailors in various ports of Asia. The English in their struggle with the Dutch were under great disadvantages. In the first place, their Company was weak in comparison with the Dutch Company. Again, a civil war was raging in their own country, and Moorish pirates preyed on the English coasts. Moreover, the Dutch Company was a national company, in the sense that it had the support of the majority of the Dutch people. The English Company on the other hand was disliked by a very large section of the people, and English kings did not hesitate to seize the property of the Company and extort money from the Directors.

Besides the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English, a Danish East India Company had been established in 1616, and in 1620, the factory of Tranquebar was

founded. Another famous factory was founded by the Danes at Serampore, near Calcutta. The Serampore settlement became famous in the early nineteenth century for the zeal with which a number of European missionaries propagated the Christian religion in India.

Danish Settlement in India

The French did not appear on the scene till much later. This was due to the fact that the French at this time were involved in constant wars with European powers. When France was freed from foreign and civil wars, and a strong centralized monarchy was established by Louis XIV, French trade and French commerce grew rapidly. The great French financier, Colbert, established the French East India Company in 1664. Pondicherry was founded in 1674, and the French acquired a number of other Indian towns on the coast. By the time the French arrived in India, the English had consolidated their influence and organized several important and strong factories on the Bombay and the Madras coasts. Consequently the French never attained appreciable success in commerce, and it was only the enterprise and foresight of Dupleix that made them prominent in India for a brief period.

The French East India Company

The victory of the English over the Spanish Armada in 1588 greatly stimulated British maritime enterprise and Englishmen clamoured for a share in the rich commerce of the eastern seas. These hopes found concrete expression in the charter which Queen Elizabeth granted in 1600, wherein exclusive rights of trading were given to the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies. The first attempt of the English to settle in Surat failed through Portuguese opposition, but in 1612, Captain Best's glorious victory over the Portuguese in a desperate sea-fight near the mouth of the Tapti river, enabled the new-comers to establish

The first English Settlement

their influence in Surat. Agencies were quickly established at Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Ajmere, and Agra. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Jahangir on a mission from King James I. Sir Thomas Roe's courtly manners, and cultured mind immediately gained for him the respect and attention of the Indian *omerahs* and the Moghul Emperor. He was a shrewd man of business, who, by his suppleness and tact, secured for his nation very valuable privileges. He warned the company against engaging in land wars, and advised them to seek their profit in quiet trade. This advice was followed by the Company throughout the seventeenth century. Factories were soon founded in other parts of India. Madras was founded in 1640; and a license was obtained for a settlement in Hughli. King Charles II had acquired Bombay as a dowry through his marriage with Queen Catherine of Braganza, but finding it expensive and troublesome, he rented it to the Company in 1668. The Portuguese gave a good deal of trouble to the Company's servants in the East, and raised numerous trivial disputes with a view to delay the transfer of Bombay to the Company. The city was at this time very unhealthy, and hundreds of persons were carried away by fever. The English factories in India had been built mainly for warehousing, but the growing disorder in the empire and the rebellion of Shivaji made it necessary for the English to adopt measures of defence. The Moghul court was in some cases too distant, and in others it was too weak, to afford them protection against violence. They were therefore compelled to convert their warehouses into small forts. The Company's Directors naturally protested against such an increase in expense, but their objections were overruled by the stern necessity of self-preservation. Hence a series of forts grew up which guaranteed the Company's servants against attacks from without and within. In 1664, and 1670, Shivaji plundered Surat, but the English traders beat

The English acquire Bombay

him off from their fortified place. The Marathas gave trouble to the English settlements in Madras, while some of the Viceroys of the Moghul Emperor in various parts of India treated them cruelly and unjustly. Hence a number of English forts sprang up, which were to be found scattered along the Indian coasts.

Objects of the East India Company

The chief object of the East India Company was trade, and its activities in the seventeenth century were purely commercial. It was not till the eighteenth century that the Company embarked on a career of conquest that led to the foundation of the British Empire in India. In the seventeenth century, the Company busied itself with the expansion of its trade in various parts of India, and the importation of Indian goods, such as calicoes, silk, etc., into England. Articles of luxury, such as silk and silk goods, fine cottons, porcelain, pearls, and precious stones, dyes such as indigo, perfumes, incense, and gums, and above all, spices such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg, ginger, and cinnamon, were imported from the East. When the population in Europe increased, and vegetables could not be grown all the year round, spices ceased to be a luxury and became a necessity. At this period, England sold only woollen cloth of various sorts, leather, tin, and lead in exchange. But the amount of exports to England greatly exceeded the quantity of imports from England into India. That is to say, India sent goods and raw material of a much higher value than the amount of goods imported by England into India. There was therefore a balance, and this was paid in precious metals, *viz.*, gold and silver. The total amount of exports from India may roughly be calculated at half a million sterling, while the English imports into India at times rarely exceeded £100,000. The result was that India absorbed in some years as much as two to three hundred thousands of pounds worth of gold and silver. This was disliked by many Englishmen at home, who thought that the drain

of English gold to India must stop. For this reason there was a strong agitation against the Company in England, and various proposals were made to remodel it. Some attacked its monopoly, others regarded it as the main cause of the decline of English commerce; while yet others regarded it as the chief support of the Stuart dynasty. The interlopers made an alliance with the Whig party in England, and about the year 1690, the Company's enemies formed a regular association, and in 1698 they secured a grant of the exclusive trade of India when the old Company's charter should have lapsed. During the period 1698 and 1701, there was a ruinous competition, and the rivalry between the two companies threatened to drive both of them out of the field. At last, good sense prevailed, and in 1702 an agreement was arrived at. Lord Godolphin in 1708 cleared up all the disputed points, and the amalgamated Company entered on a career of prosperity that has rarely been equalled by any company in the world.

Agitation against the Company in England

We get interesting glimpses of the mode of life in British factories in India. In Madras there was a common mess, and common prayers for the Company's servants, while the Company maintained a chaplain on £100 a year, and a school master on £100 a year. Services were held regularly, and severe penalties were inflicted for swearing, drinking more than half a pint of brandy at a sitting, and for getting over the fort wall. Judicial powers were exercised over Englishmen by the president and council, or judges who sat with twelve jurors. They were not, however, authorized to condemn any Englishman to death. In 1688, a Mayor and Corporation were established with aldermen and sixty burgesses. Let us now turn to Bombay. The Presidency head-quarters were removed from Surat to Bombay in 1687. Though the Company continued to trade in Surat,

Life in the Early English Settlements

Bombay proved more convenient as well as more secure. The President was also the Governor of Bombay. The Governor had his staff of chaplains, physicians, surgeons, interpreters, and mint-master—besides his council. He exercised supervising power over the rest of the Company's servants from 1686 to 1715, with the title of General.

When Madras rose to prominence, the Company found it more convenient to direct its affairs in Bengal from Madras. In 1681, nevertheless, the agent at Hughli, Mr. William Hedges, who has left a very interesting diary, was given the title of Governor, but two years later he was dismissed for misconduct, and Madras again took over the control of Bengal in 1699. By that time, Fort William at Calcutta had made considerable progress. The three villages around it had been acquired, and the Bengal Presidency had been organized. In 1696, some Hindu zemindars rebelled against the Moghul Governor. He had therefore to allow the English, as well as the Dutch, and the French to protect themselves by constructing walled bastions around their settlements. This is the origin of Fort William; the original fort of Calcutta built by Clive after the battle of Plassey was about a mile to the north of the present fort. In 1698 the Company purchased the zemindary of three villages, one of which was called Calicutta, from which Calcutta derived its name. The purchase was sanctioned by the Moghul Emperor. This transaction stabilized the position of the zemindary which the Company had now acquired in the Moghul Empire. As zemindars the Company paid a fixed amount of annual revenue to the Empire, but in return for it they were authorized to collect the rents of the tenants, to hold courts, and have certain definite rights.

The origin of Fort William

BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1498	Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut.	1498	Accession of Louis XII of France.
		1509	Death of Henry VII of England, accession of Henry VIII.
1510	Portuguese conquest of Goa.		
1515	Death of Albuquerque.	1515	Death of Louis XII; accession of Francis I, battle of Marignano.
		1517	Luther attacks indulgences.
		1529	Fall of Wolsey in England.
		1530	Confession of Augsburg; Protestant creed drawn up.
		1534	Separation of the English Church from Rome.
		1546	Death of Luther.
		1547	Accession of Edward VI in England.
		1559	Accession of Elizabeth in England.
1560	The Inquisition established at Goa.		
		1580	Union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal.
		1587	The Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.
		1588	The Spanish Armada.
		1598	The Edict of Nantes.
Dec. 31, 1600	Charter granted by Elizabeth to the East India Company.		

BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA—(*contd.*)

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1602	The United East India Company of the Netherlands formed.		
1612	English Factory established at Surat.		
		1618	Outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.
1619	Batavia in Java founded.		
1620	Danish Settlement at Tranquebar.		
1625–34	Early English factories on Eastern Coast.	1625	Accession of Charles I.
1640	Grant of the site of Madras.	1640	Meeting of the Long Parliament in England.
1641	The Dutch captured Moluccas from the Portuguese.		
1638–58	Ceylon passed from the Portuguese into Dutch hands.		
		1648	Treaty of Westphalia.
		1649	Execution of Charles I in England.
		1658	Death of Oliver Cromwell.
		1659	Treaty of Pyrenees between France and Spain.
		1660	Restoration of Charles II in England.
1661	Cession of Bombay, Charter of Charles II.		
1664	French 'Compagnie des Indes' established.		
		1665	Portuguese Independence.
1668	Cession of Bombay to the East India Company.		

BEGINNING OF EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA—(*contd.*)

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1674	Foundation of Pondicherry.		
		1682	Accession of Peter the Great in Russia.
1685–87	War of East India Company with Aurangzeb.	1685	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. Death of Charles II.
		1686	League of Augsburg against Louis XIV.
1688	Total withdrawal of the English from Bengal.	1688	Revolution in England.
		1689	General European War against Louis XIV.
1690	Foundation of Calcutta.		
		1697	Treaty of Ryswick.
1698	The New English Company trading to the East Indies.		
		1700	Death of Charles II of Spain.
		1701	Act of Settlement in England.
1702	Union of the New and Old companies		
		1704	Battle of Blenheim.
1708	Lord Godolphin's award; the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Indies.		
		1713	Treaty of Utrecht.
		1715	Death of Louis XIV.
		1740–48	War of the Austrian Succession.

CHAPTER II

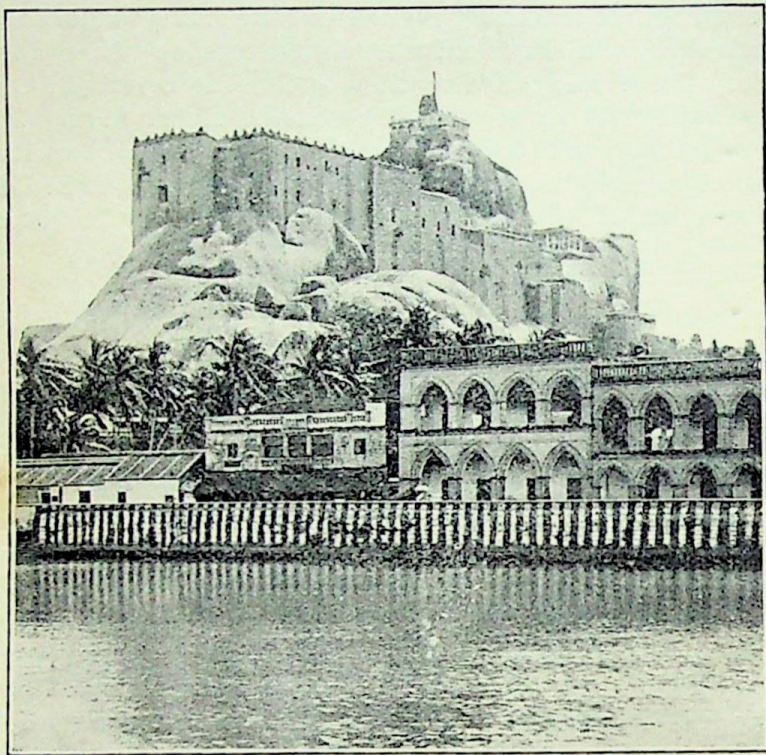
The French and the English

We have given in the earlier part of the book an account of the rise of the Moghul Empire. We have shown how that Empire grew, and we estimated its value in the scale of our national culture. The Moghul Empire was successful and popular, precisely because it gave peace and quiet to our motherland. It was national in the sense that the important communities in India were represented in its administration; and it was popular because it held aloft the banner of religious toleration. Toleration is the bed-rock of Indian nationality, and no government can exist even for a short period, if it has for its object the suppression of a particular creed or a particular community. The Moghul Empire in its palmy days was strong, popular, and powerful, precisely because it summed up the hopes and the ideals of the different communities in India. The noble work which Akbar had begun was carried on, mechanically it is true, by Shahjahan, was marred by the unwise policy of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb has been idolized by the Muslims on the one side, and attacked by the Hindus on the other. By some he is regarded as a saint, by others as a cruel fanatic. It will be true to say that he did not possess some of the virtues which are credited to him by his admirers, and was free from some of the vices which have been attributed to him by his traducers. We have to regard him mainly as a king, and not as a man, and have to apply a rigid test to his policy. Judged by this test, Aurangzeb does not come up to the level of his predecessors. A number of Hindus were alienated from him; he squandered treasures and armies on his fruitless expedition to the

Deccan; he gave little or no thought to the reorganization of administration. The Empire had become unwieldy, and was not bound by those ties of loyalty and devotion which form such an interesting feature of the reign of Akbar. He could not get his orders obeyed, and the system in operation was too primitive to control the vast territory over which he was supposed to rule. Again, the Governors of distant provinces could not be effectively controlled, and they held their own courts, appointed their own officers, and ruled as they liked. Moreover, the constant disputes among members of the Royal family had greatly shattered the prestige of the empire. Provincial jealousies also began to disturb the Empire, while the exhaustion of the central exchequer produced the bankruptcy of the Moghul Empire.

War between French and English

The rapid decline of the Moghul Empire gave an excellent opportunity to ambitious governors, and enterprising companies. The Governors of various provinces began to set up for themselves, and in Bengal, Hyderabad, and Oudh the Governors constituted themselves as rulers, set up their own courts, and ruled without reference to the orders of the central government. The power had suddenly shifted from the centre to the circumference, and each governor did as he pleased. It is no doubt true that some made a pretence of sending tributes to the Emperor now and then, and also acknowledged in theory the supremacy of the sovereign, but in actual practice they entered into the most complicated and important transactions without reference to the central authority. It was hardly to be expected that the foreign merchants who had planted factories and forts in India would remain unaffected by this anarchy. Hostilities between the French and the English soon arose. Till 1730 the French had done nothing to arouse the suspicions of the English Company. From that date the situation changed completely. A series of wars in Europe had exhausted Holland, and she

was not in a position to compete on equal terms either with the French, or with the English in India. Accordingly, the English and the French made rapid progress after 1730. The increase in the power of the French was due to the organizing ability displayed by two Governors of Pondicherry, Dumas and Dupleix. Pondicherry became

ROCK FORT, TRICHINOPOLY

a serious rival to Madras. The hostilities between the two companies were precipitated by the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession in 1744, and continued with a few brief intervals till 1756. In the wars between the English and the French, Dupleix showed extraordinary

powers of foresight, tact, and statesmanship. It is doubtful whether the French would have entered on that career of adventure but for the genius of Dupleix. It is certain that they could never have waged that war with such a success without Dupleix's enterprise. La Bourdonnais, a French privateer captain, had secured the permission of the French Government to operate against English merchant shipping. Dupleix persuaded him to attack Madras. In September 1746, the French captured Madras, but they were repulsed from the walls of the Fort St. David; and the fleet of La Bourdonnais was destroyed by a storm. Peace was made between England and France in 1749, and Dupleix was compelled to restore Madras to the English.

La Bourdonnais

The success of the French would have been permanent, if they had possessed a strong fleet. The French were at a great disadvantage in this respect. They might, and did win many brilliant victories on land, but these achieved no lasting results. Dupleix knew the importance of European disciplined troops, and he rightly thought that by disciplining Indians in modern methods of warfare the French could easily establish their sway in Southern India. Other causes of war arose very soon. The great Asaf Jah, who had founded the Nizam dynasty in Hyderabad, died in 1748, and soon afterwards there arose disputes regarding the succession to the throne. Nasir Jung, the second son of the Nizam, quarrelled with a nephew, Muzaffar Jung, over the vacant throne. Another dispute in the Carnatic complicated the situation. Dupleix disliked Anwaruddin, the ruler of the Carnatic, and championed the cause of Chanda Sahab, who laid claims to the Carnatic. Chanda Sahab and Muzaffar Jung formed a coalition, and Dupleix supported both of them. Fortune seemed to smile upon Dupleix. Anwaruddin was killed in 1749, but his death did not end the dispute, as Muhammad Ali, Anwaruddin's illegitimate

Rivalry for the thrones of the Carnatic and Hyderabad

son, claimed the throne of the Carnatic, and sought the protection of the English. The English, much against their will, supported Nasir Jung against Muzaffar Jung, and Muhammad Ali against Chanda Sahab. Nasir Jung was killed, and Muzaffar Jung became Nizam, while Muhammad Ali was soon besieged in the fort of Trichinopoly. Muzaffar Jung was also killed, but the French promptly set Salabat Jung on the throne. Dupleix sent his ablest commander, Bussy, to Hyderabad, where the French established their influence and dominated the Hyderabad court for some time. This was the zenith of Dupleix's career in India. His enemy Anwaruddin had been killed, the great Hyderabad State was under the influence of Bussy, while Chanda Sahab had practically cleared the Carnatic of his opponents.

LORD CLIVE

It was at this time that Robert Clive threw himself with characteristic energy into the struggle. In August 1751, accompanied by a force of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, he suddenly occupied Arcot without opposition.

The defences of Arcot were repaired and Clive prepared himself for a long siege. As Clive had foreseen, Chanda Sahab weakened the forces with which he was attacking Trichinopoly in order to capture Arcot. Clive and his little band sustained the siege for fifty-three days, and fought with a valour that won the admiration of his opponents. Shortly afterwards, Chanda Sahab was obliged to surrender, and Muhammad Ali became Nawab of the Carnatic.

The Siege of Arcot

Dupleix's plans had miscarried. His armies had been defeated; his allies began to distrust him and lost confidence in him; his employers were dissatisfied with his administration. The French Company sent Godehue to investigate the condition of affairs, and his first act was summarily to supersede Dupleix, and then to negotiate terms of peace with the British Company. It was agreed that neither the French nor the English would henceforth interfere in the quarrels of the Indian princes, and that each party should enjoy the possessions which it actually occupied. Dupleix's policy had proved a failure, and all his schemes had miscarried. He died in France, a poor and broken man, in November 1764.

Fall of Dupleix

The Seven Years' War broke out in Europe in 1756, and the French and the English were again involved in a war in India. The French Government selected Count Lally for the task of driving out the English into the sea. Lally was a brave and an able man, but he was passionate, excitable and haughty, and in spite of the fact that he was invested with great power, he failed to control his subordinates, and to restore the French prestige in India. Lally cherished hopes of conquering Bengal, and establishing a French Empire in India. One of his first acts showed how ignorant he was of India. He recalled Bussy from the Deccan, and thus destroyed the French influence at the Nizam's Court. Ill-luck seemed to dog his footsteps, for the admiral

Lally and Bussy

delayed on the voyage, and did not co-operate heartily with him. The local authorities at Pondicherry were suspicious, negligent and even hostile. They had made no preparations for war and failed even to collect information. Lally's attack on Madras in 1758 was repulsed by the brave defence of Mr. Pigot, and Stringer Lawrence, and the timely appearance of the British fleet ensured its failure. Lally was in a pitiable condition, and worn out by starvation and distress, was compelled to give battle at Wandiwash in 1760 to a superior force, commanded by Eyre Coote. In this battle the French were totally defeated, and Lally retired to Pondicherry, which he defended with remarkable bravery, from May 1760 to January 16, 1761, when hunger compelled him to surrender. It is said that food was so scarce that a dog sold for twenty-three rupees. This was the end of the French struggle for supremacy in India. The French, as we shall see later, made another bid for supremacy, but their efforts were then half-hearted and feeble, and they had no chance of success. When Lally returned to France, in 1763, his enemies were successful in getting him arrested and confined in the Bastille. After two and a half years he was convicted and condemned to death.

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1742	Dupleix became Governor of Pondicherry.		
1746	Madras captured by the English.		
1746–48	First Anglo-French War.		
1748	British attack on Pondicherry repulsed; death of Asaf Jah Nizam.	1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1749	Restoration of Madras to the English; death of Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of Carnatic.		
	SECOND ANGLO-FRENCH WAR		
1751	Siege of Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahab; defence of Arcot by Clive.		
1752	Trichinopoly given up by the French; death of Chanda Sahab.		
1754	Recall of Dupleix; end of the war.	1756	Beginning of the Seven Years' War.
	THIRD ANGLO-FRENCH WAR		
1757	Chandernagore taken by Clive and Watson.		
1758	Arrival of Lally who captured Fort St. David.	1759	Capture of Quebec; death of Wolfe and Montcalm.
1760	Battle of Wandiwash.	1760	Conquest of Canada.
		1760	Death of George II.
1761	Fall of Pondicherry.	1761	Resignation of William Pitt.
		1763	Treaty of Paris.
		1770	Lord North, Prime Minister in England.
		1776	Declaration of Independence of America.

CHAPTER III

Plassey

The Subedars of Bengal

Bengal occupied a different position from that which Southern India held. There, the rule of the Governors, or Subedars, was a reality, and a succession of strong and vigorous rulers had evolved order out of chaos, and organized a government which, whatever its faults may have been, did succeed in maintaining peace and order in the country. Murshid Quli Khan was an enlightened and just ruler, who gained the esteem of his subjects, and established peace in the country. Another Subedar, Nawab Shujauddin, who ruled from 1725 to 1739, is acknowledged to have been 'universally regarded as a man of strict veracity, general philanthropy, and unbounded liberality'. Allahvardi Khan, who ruled as Subedar from 1741 to 1756, was hard pressed by the Marathas, and was obliged to cede Orissa (Cuttack) in 1751, and pay twelve lakhs of rupees as *chauth*. He was an energetic ruler, who curbed the power of zemindars, patronized learning and established a stable government. The author of the *Siyarul mutakhirin* has given a most interesting account of the Bengal Subedars, and we learn that they were very successful in carrying on the traditions of the Moghul Empire, suppressing bandits, promoting learning, and protecting the rayats against the rapacity of the great and powerful zemindars. Allahvardi Khan in his dotage showed the weakness of an old man by lavishing his affections on a vicious and spoilt boy, infamous under the name of Siraj-ud-daulah.

Siraj-ud-daulah was rash, headstrong and stupid. He had been completely spoilt by the senile fondness of

Allahvardi Khan, and the possession of the throne did not produce any change in his character. He was untruthful, cowardly, base, and ungrateful. He lacked all the qualities which had been exhibited by his predecessors, and did not know how to use the few virtues which he possessed. He was fond, in his easy, indifferent way, of exacting money from his rich subjects, and this alienated the sympathy of the rich and powerful class of Hindu traders. The Hindu commercial classes grew naturally impatient of the growing demands, and increasing extortions, of the Muslim Subedars. The province looked outwardly strong, well-knit, and stable. Really, it was weakened by the distrust, suspicion, and open opposition of the Hindu traders; it was still more weakened by the supineness of Siraj-ud-daulah and the apathy of his servants, while its ruin was ensured by the duplicity, treachery and deceit of a member of Siraj-ud-daulah's family, Mir Jafar, who had married Allahvardi Khan's sister. Mir Jafar was a contemptible commander, a subtle intriguer and a base friend. He was dangerous precisely because he was so secretive, so subtle, so closely related to the Subedar, and so lavishly vested with great powers.

Siraj-ud-daulah

Siraj-ud-daulah's position was, therefore, a critical one. The zemindars were rebellious, his army was commanded by a traitor; his servants were treacherous; and his own house was divided against him. Siraj-ud-daulah alienated the house of the great Jagat Seths, and hastened his fall by quarrelling with the English.

It is hardly likely that Siraj-ud-daulah meditated the expulsion of all Europeans; nor is there any truth in the statement that he wished to expel the English. It cannot be denied that the war of the English with Aurangzeb had produced a painful impression on a number of Bengal Subedars; nor is it doubtful that the exactions, high-handedness, and open defiance of authority of which the English company's

The Black Hole

servants were often guilty, exasperated Siraj-ud-daulah. It must be said, however, that the young ruler with characteristic rashness managed the affair very badly. He seized the English factory at Kasimbazar, and marched against Calcutta with a large force. Fort William had been strangely neglected by the Company's servants and a four days' siege concluded the first phase of the conflict. A large number of the population escaped in ships, and when the place surrendered, he could seize no more than two hundred men. The Nawab foolishly left the disposal of prisoners to a subordinate who put all of them into a stifling guard-room, barely twenty feet square. It is said that 146 were put in for the night, of whom only twenty-six, including one lady, came out in the morning. This has been called the 'Black Hole' tragedy. Some historians have cast doubts upon the occurrence. There is reason to believe that such an event did occur, though the details of the affair differ. Siraj-ud-daulah did not order such a treatment, and was not responsible for it. The fault lay entirely with his subordinates.

Watson and Clive

The news of the disaster roused the Madras authorities to unwonted exertions. They at once selected Clive for the Bengal expedition, and he went with a force of about nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoys, which was transported by Admiral Watson. The influence of sea-power was immediately felt. Watson was a gallant naval officer, whose help in the conquest of Bengal contributed materially to the success of the British in Bengal. The intervention of the British Navy at this juncture proved decisive. In January, 1757, Calcutta and Hughli were captured, and Siraj-ud-daulah was obliged to conclude an alliance, and restore all the Company's rights and privileges. He also promised to compensate the English for the losses sustained by them, and they were allowed to coin money and to fortify Calcutta. Soon after, Admiral Watson gallantly attacked the French forts at Chander-

nagore, and Clive co-operated from the land. Chandernagore was captured and French influence was destroyed. The destruction of the French power in Bengal deprived Siraj-ud-daulah of the one strong power that could help him. He was practically isolated. The Nawab was unpopular, and the Hindu commercial classes disliked him, and did everything possible to thwart his designs. In his own court, plots were hatched against him and Mir Jafar gained favour with the English by promising large bribes, and valuable concessions in return for the dethronement of Siraj-ud-daulah. Clive lent his ear to these plots and entered into them with the skill of a born diplomat. He was obliged to use several very dishonest means, and to deceive Ami Chand, a wealthy banker who had heard of the plot. He actually had a forged treaty prepared on the lines of the genuine agreement between the English and Mir Jafar. To this an additional clause was added, whereby Ami Chand was promised twenty lakhs of rupees. Admiral Watson nobly refused to append his signature to that dishonest document. In June, Clive marched with a force of about 3,000 men, with eight six-pounder guns, and one howitzer.

The Battle of Plassey

The Nawab's army, estimated at about 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse, and about fifty guns, entrenched near the village of Plassey. Siraj-ud-daulah tried to envelop the small force under Clive's command, but was not successful. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the Nawab's forces retreated to their entrenched camp, being considerably hampered by the cumbrous heavy guns, each of which was drawn by forty or fifty pairs of oxen. A sudden attack by Clive caused a general rout, the only men on the Nawab's side who fought at all steadily being a party of vagabond Frenchmen. The pursuit was continued for six miles, and the Nawab's whole camp, with the guns, baggage, elephants, and horses, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss was extremely small, amounting to

about twenty-two killed and forty-nine or fifty wounded. Only one figure in this miserable drama stands out nobly, and it is that of Mir Madan. This old warrior died on the battlefield fighting with a valour and determination that won the admiration of his enemies.

Results of Plassey

The battle of Plassey sounded the death-knell of Indian independence, and the Moghul Empire. It revealed the corrupting influence, the demoralizing atmosphere, and the degeneracy that had eaten into the vitals of our country. The people had ceased to think in terms of nation, race, religion or creed. Everybody acted for himself, and completely forgot his duty to his country, and his sovereign. At no period of our history did India fall so low; at no period was the spirit of patriotism, and the instinct of self-preservation so feeble. This explains the reason why a handful of English traders succeeded in imposing their will on the inhabitants of Bengal. India was like a house divided against itself. The results of the battle were far-reaching. The immediate results may be briefly described. Siraj-ud-daulah was hunted out and killed; the English officials received fabulous sums from Mir Jafar as a reward for their services. The Company obtained the zemindary of the twenty-four parganas. The total amount distributed among the English at this period has been estimated at three million pounds sterling. The only other European power in Bengal which could give trouble to the English were the Dutch. The Dutch were jealous of the growing power of the English. Clive decided to remove that danger and he totally defeated them. They submitted, withdrew from the field of Indian politics, and remained henceforward in India only as traders.

Clive returned to England in February 1760, and Vansittart took his place. Admiral Watson died of fever two months after Plassey. It has been truly said of him that 'no man ever lived more esteemed, or died more

regretted, than Admiral Watson'. The revolution that had been effected in Bengal was used by many English traders for their own purposes. Rich and costly presents were accepted by men who were placed in very high positions without demur, without protest, and even with pleasure. Clive's greed for money, his insatiable appetite for presents, and his connivance at such practices among his subordinates greatly detract from his character. Bengal which was a rich, prosperous and flourishing province before Plassey, was mercilessly fleeced, and the inhabitants were compelled to maintain a system whose primary aim was the giving of large sums to the rulers. This was soon adopted by others who followed Clive, and we thus find a most vicious and thoroughly evil system in operation.

Mir Kasim

The example of treason that had been set by Mir Jafar was soon followed by his son-in-law, Mir Kasim. After Clive's departure the province was plunged into disorder. The employees of the Company regarded themselves as masters, and constant disputes arose with the officers of the Subedar. Shah Alam, the new Moghul Emperor invaded Bengal, but was beaten off. The new Governor was in great need of money, and lent a friendly ear to suggestions for the transfer of administration from Mir Jafar to Mir Kasim. Some members of the Council protested against this transaction, but Vansittart succeeded. Mir Jafar abdicated, and Mir Kasim was appointed Subedar in his place. He lavished presents on British officers, and also ceded Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong to the Company. Mir Kasim was the exact antithesis of Mir Jafar. He was vigorous, energetic, able and industrious. If he had been given an opportunity to rule, he would have proved one of the ablest administrators of the period. It was, however, impossible for him to rule independently for a long time. Soon afterwards a quarrel broke out between him and the Company. The English settlers in Bengal claimed

exemption from all duties for their own trading concerns, and they based their claims upon the *farman* of Farrukhsiyar. If this claim had been conceded, it would have destroyed the commerce of the province. Mir Kasim rightly protested against such claims, and as his protests were not listened to, he abolished duties upon the whole of the inland trade. By this means he placed his subjects on an equal footing with the English. This was, however, violently opposed by the British, and Mir Kasim was driven to hostilities. Mir Kasim's policy had, so far, been prudent and wise, and he had the support of some honest men in the Council, like Warren Hastings and Vansittart. He now embarked upon a policy that proved ruinous to himself and disastrous to the country. He massacred nearly two hundred Europeans, and was defeated in two engagements, and driven out of his kingdom. In July 1763, Mir Kasim was formally deposed and Mir Jafar once more placed upon the throne. Again, the weak old Nawab promised enormous concessions, and allowed them the right of private trade. Mir Kasim fled to Oudh, where the shrewd Nawab Vizier of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daulah, and the Emperor Shah Alam promised to help him. The combined forces advanced upon Bengal in 1764, but they were totally defeated by Major Munro in a desperate engagement at Buxar. Mir Kasim's troops fought magnificently, and the battle lasted from nine in the morning till noon. The victory was decisive. The Emperor joined the English, the Nawab Vizier took refuge in his own dominions, and British troops, for the first time in history, occupied Allahabad.

Clive's Second Administration

The alarm excited by the invasion of Bengal, combined with the lurid tales of misgovernment and misrule, which reached the Directors in London, led to the appointment of Clive as Governor of Bengal. Clive immediately inaugurated a period of reform. He compelled the Company's servants to sign covenants, whereby they renounced private

1765—67

trade, and promised not to accept presents except within narrow limits. Clive, however, quickly discovered that the salaries paid by the Company to their servants were utterly inadequate. In order to compensate them for the loss they would sustain by signing the covenant, he devised an ingenious plan. He founded a society for trade in salt, tobacco and opium, and the profits derived from their sale were to be shared in definite proportions by the various grades of the Company's employees. Clive also abolished the system of extra pay or bhatta which had become customary in the army since 1757. By these reforms he earned the enmity of two very powerful classes—the civil and the military employees of the Company. A dangerous mutiny broke out in the army, but Clive suppressed it with vigour. Clive turned his attention to the political position of the Company. He obtained from the Emperor the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and this gave the English the right to collect and administer the revenue, and greatly strengthened their position. Again, the Subedar became a mere pensioner, and received merely an allowance from the Company. The Emperor agreed to these reforms and recognized them, because he was promised a share of the Bengal revenues. Clive, finally, restored Shuja-ud-daulah to his dominions, and concluded an alliance with him, whereby he was guaranteed the support of English troops on payment of the cost of their maintenance. Clive left India early in 1769. He had succeeded in purifying the administration, and regularizing the position of the Company. The Emperor had been conciliated; Shuja-ud-daulah had been converted into an ally, and the administration of the country was taken over from the Nawab, and controlled by two Deputy Nawabs appointed for Bengal and Bihar.

However, Clive's measures did not, perhaps they could not, cure the evil, and after his departure it became clear that the dual system set up by him could not be main-

tained. It offered endless opportunities for corruption, friction, and mismanagement, and it was totally unsuitable at a time when a weak, incompetent or dishonest Governor held the reins of power. The old evils continued unchecked. Bribery and corruption flourished, and the Nawabs possessed neither the power nor the prestige to check the rising tide of famine. In 1769–70, a horrible famine swept over the fair fields of Bengal, and exacted a toll from its miserable inhabitants. The event was so sudden, and so unexpected, that the Company could do little. Private charity was, of course, forthcoming, but it could not effect much. Muhammad Raza Khan, the Deputy Nawab, urged various measures, but the collection of revenue was insisted upon in full, and more than a third of the population died of hunger. Some of the Company's servants indulged in the cruel practice of buying up food grains, and retailing them at high prices.

In Madras too, mismanagement was writ large on the administration of the Company. After Muhammad Ali's elevation to the throne of the Carnatic, his power was practically transferred to the Company. This was a fore-runner of the double government of Bengal. Power was divorced from responsibility, and friction naturally increased. The Madras Government was at this time greatly troubled by Haidar Ali, who had displaced the ancient Hindu dynasty of Mysore; the Marathas were another source of danger, while the Nizam at this time sided first with Haidar Ali, and then with the English.

The failure of Lally and that of Dupleix were due to various causes. The French Company was inferior to the English in wealth. The English Company had emerged victorious after a series of fights with the Dutch, the interlopers, and other enemies, and in this struggle it had relied mainly upon its own efforts. The state had supported it fitfully, and feebly. It had developed enterprise, initiative, and knowledge. It possessed great wealth; while

Failure of the French Attempt

its constitution was peculiarly fitted for a strong, and united government. The French Company, on the other hand, was merely a department of the King's government, and was badly administered. As the shareholders were assured of fixed dividends, they took no active interest in its operations. Hence, the Company lacked that spirit of bold adventure which the servants of the English Company displayed. The French Company in India was content to hold only such territory as provided opportunities for peaceful trading on a moderate scale. The resources of the Company were inadequate for a war and Dupleix himself did not possess sufficient money. Dupleix was fired by ambition; but he was accused of duplicity; his wife openly took bribes, and his dealings with the Indian princes were sometimes both dishonest and unscrupulous. The prospects of the French were completely marred by the English occupation of Bengal. It was a rich, prosperous and fertile country yielding large revenues, and offering splendid opportunities of trade to the English Company. After Plassey, the result of the struggle could be foreseen by any observer. By acquiring Bengal, the English acquired a splendid source from which wealth and men could be poured into the neighbouring province.

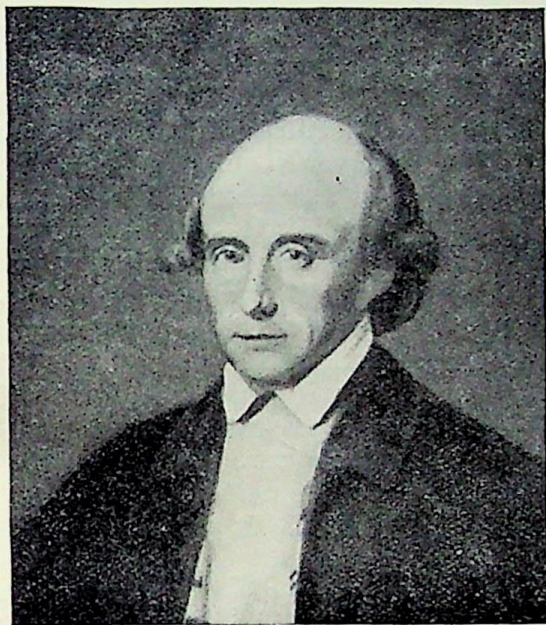
Another cause that led to the overthrow of the French was the strength of the English sea-power. The French might win a victory here and there; the ranks of the English might be thinned for a time by the incessant attacks, and brilliant leadership of a clever French captain, but the triumph was only momentary, and the English repaired their losses with astonishing rapidity. The command of the sea gave them a tremendous advantage over the French. It enabled the English to send relief to the distressed garrisons in a remarkably short period; it enabled them to adopt effective measures for the safety of their trade, and the security of their subjects. This was illustrated vividly in Lally's campaign. Lally's

boldness and dash, his desperate courage and extraordinary ability all came to nothing for want of a well-equipped navy. The command of the sea enabled the English to send a large force to help their distressed brethren in Bengal.

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1725–1739	Shuja-ud-din, Subedar of Bengal.		
1740–1756	Allahvardi Khan, Subedar of Bengal.		
1756	Siraj-ud-daulah, Nawab of Bengal; capture of Calcutta.	1756–1763	Seven years' war.
1757	Recapture of Calcutta; Storm of Chandernagore; Battle of Plassey; Cession of twenty-four parganas; Mir Jafar Nawab.		
1760	Mir Kasim appointed Subedar of Bengal.	1760	George III King
1763	Restoration of Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal.	1763	Peace of Paris
1764	Battle of Buxar.		
1765	Clive, Governor of Bengal.		
1767	Departure of Clive.		
1770	Famine in Bengal.		

CHAPTER IV

Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal

It was fortunate that at this period, a strong and able man was appointed Governor of Bengal. Warren Hastings was a descendant of an ancient and honourable, though a poor family. He came out to India before he had completed his eighteenth year, and by his industry, zeal and ability, he soon gained the confidence of the Directors. He took charge of the office of Governor of Bengal in 1772, and immediately set to work to evolve order out of chaos. During the first two years of his administration, his energies were occupied with reforming numerous abuses, overhauling the administrative machinery, and placing the finances of the Company on a sound and firm basis.

WARREN HASTINGS

Abolition of the dual system

The experience of the last five years convinced Warren Hastings of the need for abolishing the dual system. The Nizamat had ceased to function; the Diwani exercised through deputies was in confusion. Three months after taking charge he wrote that the 'new government consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as well as the chaos itself'. Competent servants were difficult to obtain; arrears of work had accumulated for years; the courts of justice were inefficient and dilatory; the country was ravaged by gangs of armed dacoits and brigands. Corn was scarce, and the currency was in a hopeless disorder. Such was the state of the country at the time Warren Hastings arrived as Governor. The Company now resolved to act as Diwan, and the task of the collection of revenue was transferred from Murshidabad to a Board of Revenue in Calcutta. The two Deputy Diwans, Muhammad Raza Khan and Maharajah Shitab Rai, were removed from office, and tried for embezzlement. The allowance of the young Nawab was reduced by half. As the Emperor had thrown himself into the hands of the Marathas, Hastings felt justified in withdrawing the tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees which had hitherto been regularly paid by the Company. By effecting these economies, Hastings saved a substantial amount for the Company. The administration of justice was improved, and he constituted courts of appeal at Calcutta for civil and criminal cases. The Sanyasis were put down with a strong hand, and the land revenue system was carefully investigated. This was a very difficult question, because the English at that time were totally unacquainted with the languages, laws and customs of the people. The English officials were untrained. Hastings carried out a five-year settlement, and appointed English officials, who were for the first time called Collectors, with Indian assistants, to administer the districts. As the Company acted as the Diwan, the Collectors, as heads of districts,

became responsible for dispensing civil law. Indian officials still presided over the criminal courts. By these reforms, Hastings firmly established order in the country, and his administration inspired confidence among the subjects.

The Rohilla War

The Rohillas came from the neighbourhood of Peshawar and invaded the ancient Hindu provinces of Katehar and Sambal, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They conquered them, and founded a strong kingdom in modern Rohilkhand. They were, and are, a sturdy, brave and enterprising race possessing great powers of command, and an energetic disposition. They were not, however, strong enough to keep out the Marathas who harassed them on numerous occasions. Their heroic chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, a brave and chivalrous warrior, signed a treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah, in June 1772, by which they promised to pay him forty lakhs, in return for his help against the Marathas. When the Marathas returned in 1773, the combined forces of the Nawab Vizier and the Company checked their attacks, and Shuja-ud-daulah promptly asked for the payment of forty lakhs. Hafiz Rahmat Khan rightly pointed out that the help rendered by the Nawab Vizier was by no means effective, and that in any case, he had no money at that time, and asked him to wait. Unfortunately, the Nawab Vizier was determined to annex Rohilkhand, and into this conspiracy Warren Hastings entered with unseemly haste. Without carefully considering the consequences of his action, and making inquiries into the facts of the case, he agreed to lend to the Nawab Vizier on reasonable terms a brigade for the reduction of Rohilkhand. By the Treaty of Benares, he transferred Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-daulah in return for a payment of fifty lakhs. In February 1774, Shuja-ud-daulah demanded the promised brigade. It was sent under Colonel Champion. The Rohillas fought desperately but they were no match

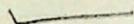
against disciplined troops, and were defeated on April 17, 1774, at Miran Katra in the Shahjahanpur district. Their heroic leader, whose brave and useful life has been published, died fighting gallantly. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh, and thousands of Rohillas left their hearths and homes, and joined their countryman, Zabita Khan. The Oudh troops committed fearful ravages, and burnt many a quiet and peaceful village. Warren Hastings has been justly blamed for lending British troops for this purpose. The Rohillas had done no wrong to the Company; they had done no wrong to their ally the Nawab Vizier. Their fault was that they could not collect sufficient money to pay the amount they had promised. Surely the Nawab Vizier could have waited a little. Warren Hastings was precipitate and thoughtless, and his action in lending British troops as mercenaries was immoral and indefensible.

The Regulating Act, 1773

By 1772, the East India Company had grown into a political power. This change in its character and the need of financial help brought about the Regulating Act, by which the Directors of the Company were required to submit to the King's ministers copies of all material correspondence concerning the Company. Hence Parliament, through the ministers of the day, assumed control over the whole administration of the Company. The Act provided for a Governor-General and four councillors. Ample salaries were provided, £25,000 for the Governor-General and £10,000 for each Councillor. The members of the Council were John Clavering, George Monson, Richard Barwell, Philip Francis, and Warren Hastings. The Act also provided that the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were precluded from commencing hostilities or negotiating treaties with Indian Princes without the previous consent of the Bengal authorities. By the Act, a Supreme Court of Judicature was established at Fort William, consisting of a Chief Justice and three

Puisne Judges. Sir Elijah Impey, an old school-fellow of Warren Hastings, was appointed Chief Justice. There were several grave defects in the Act. It was obscure and ambiguous, and led to numerous disputes between the Supreme Court and the Government. Nobody could tell what law was to be administered by that Court. Nobody knew how the persons who came under the jurisdiction of the Court, whether European or Indian, were to be defined. Again, under the Act, the Governor-General was bound to carry out the decision of the majority of his Council, and when three members of his Council, Clavering, Francis, and Monson, combined against him, he was powerless. The Government was paralyzed by the opposition of the majority of members of the Council, while the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were specifically allowed to act independently in case of urgent necessity, and the Governor-General had, therefore, no effective control over them. The Regulating Act was therefore defective in many important respects. It did not strengthen the position of the Governor-General against members of his Council; and it did not strengthen the position of the Government as against the Supreme Court on the one side, and the Madras and Bombay authorities on the other. For a few years Hastings was powerless in the Council and his most cherished reforms were opposed at every step by a determined and persistent faction.

Nand Kumar Case

The Nand Kumar case shows how humiliating his position had become. Nand Kumar brought charges of corruption against him in 1775, and the majority of the Council proceeded to arraign Hastings before themselves. Hastings unwisely refused to meet the charges, as he felt insulted by the treatment of the majority. The Law officers of the Company decided in 1776 that these charges, even on the *ex parte* case, before them, were false. But the majority of the Council resolved that the Governor-General should pay into the Company's treasury the sum he was alleged to

have received. In May 1775, Nand Kumar was arrested on a charge of forgery put forward by one party in a civil suit. This was really an old suit, and Warren Hastings had no hand in the case. The jury unanimously found him guilty, and the death penalty was inflicted on Nand Kumar. The majority of the members of the Council made no attempt to secure Nand Kumar's reprieve.

The First Maratha War

In 1775, the Bombay authorities wished to extend their territory and to acquire Salsette and Bassein. They thought they could do this by interfering in the disputes of the Marathas. At this time a civil war was raging in the territories of the Peshwa, Narain Rao, who assumed office in 1772 and was murdered by the partisans of his uncle Raghunath Rao. War broke out between the partisans, and Raghunath Rao asked the Bombay Government for help, and promised Salsette and Bassein. The British lent their aid, and in the war that ensued won some success. Hastings was inclined to side with the Bombay authorities, but the majority of his Council overruled him. The Directors, however, supported Hastings, the alliance with Raghunath Rao was renewed, and the Company was committed to a war with the Marathas. The Bombay authorities were incompetent and negligent, and an expedition from Bombay in 1779 was forced to conclude an armistice at Wargaon, whereby all the territorial possessions obtained by Bombay in 1773 were to be surrendered. Hastings, however, rose to the occasion, and acted with vigour and energy. A force under Goddard marched brilliantly across India, and captured Ahmadabad and Bassein; the Gwalior fortress was gallantly stormed by Major Popham. The Gaekwar of Baroda allied himself with the British. The Nizam was conciliated by Hastings, who restored Guntur to him. Another serious danger, however, threatened the British. In 1780, Haidar Ali invaded the Carnatic, devastated the

country, and defeated an English force under Baillie. He then captured Arcot. The French, who had been at war with the English since 1778, joined Haidar Ali, and as England was at this time hard pressed by nearly all the European powers, Warren Hastings could not look for help from home. Warren Hastings at this critical period acted with great skill and boldness. He isolated his opponents by concluding a separate peace with the Raja of Berar and with Sindhia, who promised to mediate between the British and the Maratha Confederacy. This resulted in the Treaty of Salbai, in 1782, whereby the English acquired Salsette. The treaty detached the Marathas from Haidar Ali, and secured twenty years of peace between the Company and the Maratha Confederacy. Hastings met Haidar Ali's attack by despatching Sir Eyre Coote. Eyre Coote defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Novo in 1781, and inflicted terrible losses on the enemy. The French, however, sent a powerful fleet under the famous Admiral Suffren, and a series of severe and desperate engagements followed between the English fleet under Hughes and Suffren. The latter found it impossible to utilize his victories, and after the great victory of Rodney, the command of the sea once more fell into the hands of the English. The treaty of Versailles, in 1783, terminated the war between the French and the English, but the war with Mysore was continued by Haidar's able son Tipu. The treaty of Mangalore, signed in 1784, ended the war, and each party retained its possessions, and promised the restoration of prisoners.

Chait Singh

The finances of the Company being disorganised, Hastings demanded five lakhs of rupees from Raja Chait Singh of Benares, in 1778. The demand for an extra five lakhs was repeated in 1779 and 1780, which the Raja paid. The Raja contended that his agreement with the Company exempted him from all contributions beyond his regular tribute of twenty-two and half lakhs. In 1780, Chait Singh offered

Hastings a present of two lakhs. The sum was accepted, but Hastings refused to withdraw his claim for the special contribution. In order to enforce his demands, Hastings went to Benares, and tried to enforce his orders. A riot broke out and the Governor was obliged to take refuge in the fort of Chunar. Chait Singh fled, and his nephew, who succeeded him, was compelled to pay the enhanced tribute. Hastings was undoubtedly severe in his dealing with Chait Singh, and grossly mismanaged the whole affair. His conduct towards Chait Singh was indefensible.

The Begums

The reigning Nawab Vizier of Oudh was an extravagant and careless ruler, who failed to pay the arrears of his tribute. Moreover, he wanted money for his numerous pastimes. His mother and grandmother had obtained large estates and a valuable treasure after Shuja-ud-daulah's death. Asaf-ud-daulah proposed that the amount he owed could be obtained from the Begums, and as Hastings believed that the Begums had been concerned in Chait Singh's revolt, he agreed to the proposals of Asaf-ud-daulah, and authorized the English Resident to put pressure upon the old ladies for the purpose of extorting money from them. This was done, and a large amount of money was obtained. Warren Hastings' action was unwise, impolite and inexpedient. He should have refused to be a party to the transaction.

Hastings left India in February 1785, and was impeached by Burke, in the House of Commons, in 1788. The trial lasted till 1795, when Hastings was acquitted of all the charges.

Warren Hastings' character has been subjected to a good deal of criticism by Macaulay and Burke. While it would be unfair to deny that some of Burke's charges are untrue, it must be admitted that Burke was justified in denouncing his treatment of Chait Singh, the Begums of Oudh and the Rohillas. Warren Hastings made numerous mistakes. He was at times cruel and dishonest; at other

times his tortuous dealings justly exposed him to serious charges by Sir Philip Francis. But it cannot be denied that he established the British Empire in Bengal by his devotion, zeal, assiduity and ability.

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
April, 1772	Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal.		
1773	The Regulating Act.		
Aug., 1773	Treaty of Benares with Shuja-ud-daulah.		
1774	Rohilla War.		
1774	Battle of Miran Katra.		
1775	Execution of Nand Kumar; Treaty of Surat; First Maratha War began.		
1779	Convention of Wargaon.		
1780	Invasion of Carnatic by Haider Ali—Baillie's disaster.		
1781	Battle of Porto Novo; Sir Eyre Coote defeated Haider Ali.	1781	Surrender of Cornwallis at York Town.
1782	Treaty of Salbai between the English and the Marathas; Death of Haider Ali.	1782	Resignation of Lord North; Irish Legislative independence; relief of Gibraltar.
1783	Surrender of Mangalore to Tipu.	1783	Treaty of Paris; Pitt, Prime Minister in England.
1784	Treaty of Mangalore; Pitt's India Act.		
1785	Resignation of Hastings.		

CHAPTER V

The Balance of Power

After the departure of Warren Hastings, Sir John Macpherson acted as Governor-General for eighteen months. Macpherson's tenure of office was marked by vacillation and weakness, and in his administration he indulged in some very bad practices. Lord Cornwallis was trusted by the English Government and commanded respect by his dignity and honesty. Pitt's India Act of 1784 had established a Board of Control, consisting of six Commissioners of whom one called the President acquired real control over the important affairs of the Company. Orders passed by the Board were transmitted to India through a secret committee of Directors. The defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 were in many cases removed. Madras and Bombay were definitely subordinated to Bengal in all important matters. The Governor-General was given power to overrule his Council in emergencies. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was clearly defined.

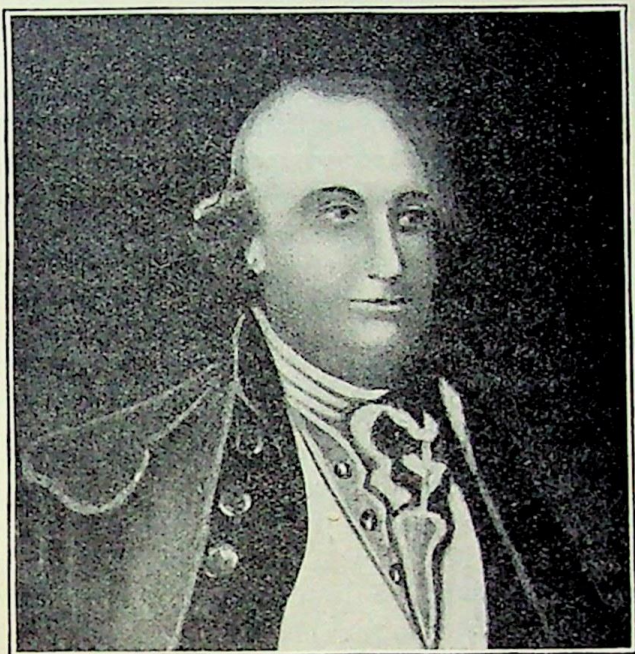
Lord Cornwallis

Lord Cornwallis' strong character and the confidence he inspired freed him from attacks in his own Council, and he was therefore enabled to carry out a series of important reforms in the administration. Cornwallis insisted on adequate salaries for the Company's servants, and effected a separation between their executive and judicial powers. By his reforms, he purified the administration, and made the services popular, efficient and honest.

His reforms

Under the Moghuls, the zemindars seem to have acted merely as middlemen. They stipulated to pay to the Government a fixed amount of revenue, and exacted a fixed

share of produce from the cultivators. But the office tended to become hereditary, and in the time of Warren Hastings the zemindary system was well-established, and zemindars enjoyed a definite right to a portion of land revenue. Hastings leased zemindary rights to the highest bidders for five years, but this involved great confusion, and many per-

Cornwallis Permanent Settlement

LORD CORNWALLIS

sons bid for these rights at a figure which they could never be expected to pay. Hence, old Zemindary families were in many cases displaced by new men. Lord Cornwallis had received instructions to give security to the zemindars, and had to fix the land revenue permanently. Cornwallis wished to impart stability to the land revenue system, and to give security to zemindars. In doing so he sacrificed the rights of cultivators; again, if any increase took place

in the value of the land, the Government could not profit by it, and all profit went into the pockets of the zemindars. Hence it has been said that, 'the rest of India has been taxed more heavily so that Bengal landlords may enjoy the privileges of special emoluments.' Sir John Shore said that the Government should fix the land revenue permanently only after it had carefully investigated the system in vogue. In this he was right.

Lord Cornwallis abolished the Naib Subedar's control over the Nizamat; established a civil court in every district under a European judge; divested the Collectors of judicial functions and established a system of criminal courts parallel to that of the civil courts. He drew up an elaborate code of regulations.

Mysore and Cornwallis

In 1789, Tipu attacked the Company's ally, Travancore. Cornwallis formed an alliance with the Peshwa and the Nizam, and carried on the war from 1790 to 1792. Tipu fought desperately, but was obliged to submit. By the treaty of Seringapatam, he paid a large indemnity, and ceded half of his dominions. The Company secured Malabar and other territories of great strategic importance. The other allies, the Nizam and the Peshwa, also received accessions of territory and a share of the indemnity.

Cornwallis left India in 1793. He had proved a vigorous reformer and an honest, zealous and successful administrator.

Sir John Shore succeeds Cornwallis

Sir John Shore was a man of exemplary character but he did not possess initiative. He was weak and vacillating at times and his policy of neutrality and non-interference alienated the sympathy of the Company's allies. When the Nizam was hard pressed by the Marathas in 1795, and asked for help, Shore refused. The Nizam was defeated at Kharda, and immediately dismissed the British battalions, and employed a French Officer, M. Raymond, to recruit battalions commanded by Frenchmen.

Only in Oudh did Shore show energy and vigour. He interposed in a succession dispute, and concluded a treaty whereby the Company was made responsible for the defence of Oudh in return for an annual subsidy. Allahabad was also ceded to the British. At the end of 1795 the officers formed a dangerous mutinous combination threatening even to seize both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief and take possession of the Government. They demanded double bhatta, promotion by strict seniority, and other privileges. Clive had suppressed a similar combination in fifteen days; Shore weakly submitted, and granted' even more than was demanded. When the directors heard of this abject surrender, they recalled him. Shore himself had written in a private letter dated March 6, 1796, ''The fact is that the duties of my station are too much, I fear, for my abilities.' Shore was an admirable subordinate, but he was not great enough to exercise supreme power.

Dates	Events in Indian History	Dates	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1786	Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General.		
		1789	The storming of the Bastille in France.
1790	Third Mysore War.		
1792	Treaty of Seringapatam.		
1793	Permanent Settlement in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.		
	Sir John Shore, Governor-General.		
1795	Battle of Kharda.	1795	Establishment of the Directory in France.
		1796	Bonaparte invades Italy.
		1798	Battle of the Nile.

CHAPTER VI

Wellesley

Wellesley

The new Governor-General was a ripe and accomplished scholar, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of Indian affairs while a member of the Board of Control. He possessed great powers of initiative, remarkable grasp of a situation, and considerable industry. Shore's policy had placed the British in India in a position of great danger. The Nizam had been alienated; the Marathas were powerful, well-organized and well-led; Tipu Sultan was at the time intriguing with France, and corresponding with Turkey. The influence of the British had diminished and their allies were suspicious and lukewarm. In Europe, England was carrying on a life and death struggle with the French, and Napoleon dreamed dreams of the con-

MARQUESS WELLESLEY

quest of Asia. The situation was critical and Wellesley perceived that bold action was necessary. He suggested the policy of subsidiary alliances, whereby the rulers of Indian States were precluded from conducting foreign relations and employing foreigners and were to maintain a British contingent in their territories for their protection. The expenses of the contingent were to be paid by the Indian State. Wellesley adopted this policy in the case of the Nizam, with admirable success. The Nizam disbanded his French troops and agreed to have at his disposal a contingent of the Company's troops.

Mysore

Wellesley next turned his attention to Tipu Sultan. When Tipu returned an unsatisfactory reply to his letters, Wellesley declared war, and in two months defeated Tipu Sultan, and conquered his kingdom. Tipu was killed fighting gallantly. Seringapatam was stormed on May 4, 1799, and Mysore lay at the feet of the conqueror. The Nizam, who had helped the British materially in this war, was given a part of Mysore; another part was retained by the Company, while the remainder was handed back to a prince of the ancient Hindu dynasty that had been displaced by Haidar Ali. Purnia, the able Brahman, who was appointed Prime Minister of the new State, administered it till 1811. Lord William Bentinck was obliged to take the State under the direct administration of the Company, in 1831, owing to the misrule of the young Maharajah, but in 1881 Lord Ripon restored the royal family to power. Mysore is now one of the most progressive of Indian States.

Subsidiary Alliances developed

Wellesley extended his system of subsidiary alliances in a manner that aroused the suspicion of many Indian States. He disregarded sentiment, tradition, and treaty rights, and insisted on prompt compliance with his demands. The Nizam was obliged to hand over the territory which he had gained in the Mysore wars; the Nawab Vizier of Oudh was compelled in 1801 to cede Rohilkhand, and the

northern districts of Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Basti, while the Nawab of the Carnatic was pensioned off, and his kingdom annexed by the Company. Such high-handed dealings were disliked by the Indian princes, but Wellesley naively thought that it was to the advantage of the princes to follow this policy. When a contingent of troops was stationed in the territories of the princes, the latter were freed from all fear of danger in their dominion, and disregarded their duties to their subjects, as all opposition to their measures could be, and was, put down by the British troops. Hence their character suffered. They became lazy and careless, ignored popular opinion and disregarded the wishes of their subjects.

At this time, the old, shrewd and experienced Maratha statesman, Nana Farnavis, died, and Maratha politics fell into confusion. Two powerful Maratha chieftains, Daulat Rao Sindhia, and Jaswant Rao Holkar contended for mastery. Jaswant Rao Holkar made a bid for the control of the Peshwa, Baji Rao II. In 1802, Holkar's forces defeated Sindhia, and the Peshwa fled to Bassein, and asked the British Government for help. Wellesley agreed to help him, as it gave him a good chance of controlling the Peshwa, and exercising influence over the Marathas. The treaty of Bassein was signed in 1802 and the Peshwa agreed to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the British. A detachment of the Company's troops was to be stationed at Poona and the foreign policy of the Peshwa was to be conducted by the British. The Peshwa also ceded some territory to the British. He was soon restored to Poona with the help of British troops, and it seemed that Lord Wellesley had gained his object. It soon became clear, however, that the great Maratha chieftains did not approve of this policy. They refused to recognize the position that had been created, and Sindhia and the Raja of Berar formed an alliance against the Company. A war was inevitable and it broke out in 1803.

Wellesley and the Marathas

In the Deccan, Wellesley's brother, Arthur Wellesley, who later became Duke of Wellington, conducted a brilliant campaign, and totally defeated the Maratha army at Assaye. Sindhia was crushed, and agreed to suspend hostilities in the Deccan. The Raja of Berar was defeated at Argaon in Berar. The great fortress of Gawilgarh was stormed soon after and the Raja of Berar by the treaty of Deogaon in 1803 at length accepted a subsidiary alliance. In the North, Lord Lake conducted a brilliant campaign. He captured Aligarh from Sindhia's troops, and shattered near Delhi the fine army which Sindhia had built up. Agra and Delhi were soon occupied, with the blind old Emperor, Shah Alam, on the throne. The remnants of Sindhia's forces were defeated at Laswaree in Alwar State. Sindhia's soldiers fought with remarkable valour. After the battle, when his troops crowded round, and cheered him, General Lake pointed to the Indian gunners who had been bayoneted, and were then lying thick about their cannon, and told them 'to despise death as those brave fellows had done'. This victory ended the war with Sindhia. He was obliged by the treaty of Surji Arjungaon in 1803 to accept a subsidiary alliance, and surrender a large part of his territory.

Holkar was the only dangerous foe who remained unconquered. The campaign against him was mismanaged, and Colonel Monson, after advancing too far into Rajputana, retreated, with disastrous results. Holkar was on his heels, cutting off stragglers, and destroying his baggage. Holkar next attacked Delhi, but was beaten off. His army suffered a defeat at Deeg, after Holkar himself had been defeated at Fatehgarh. Lord Lake failed to take Bharatpur whose Raja had allied himself with Holkar. The Raja was, however, cowed and he made peace.

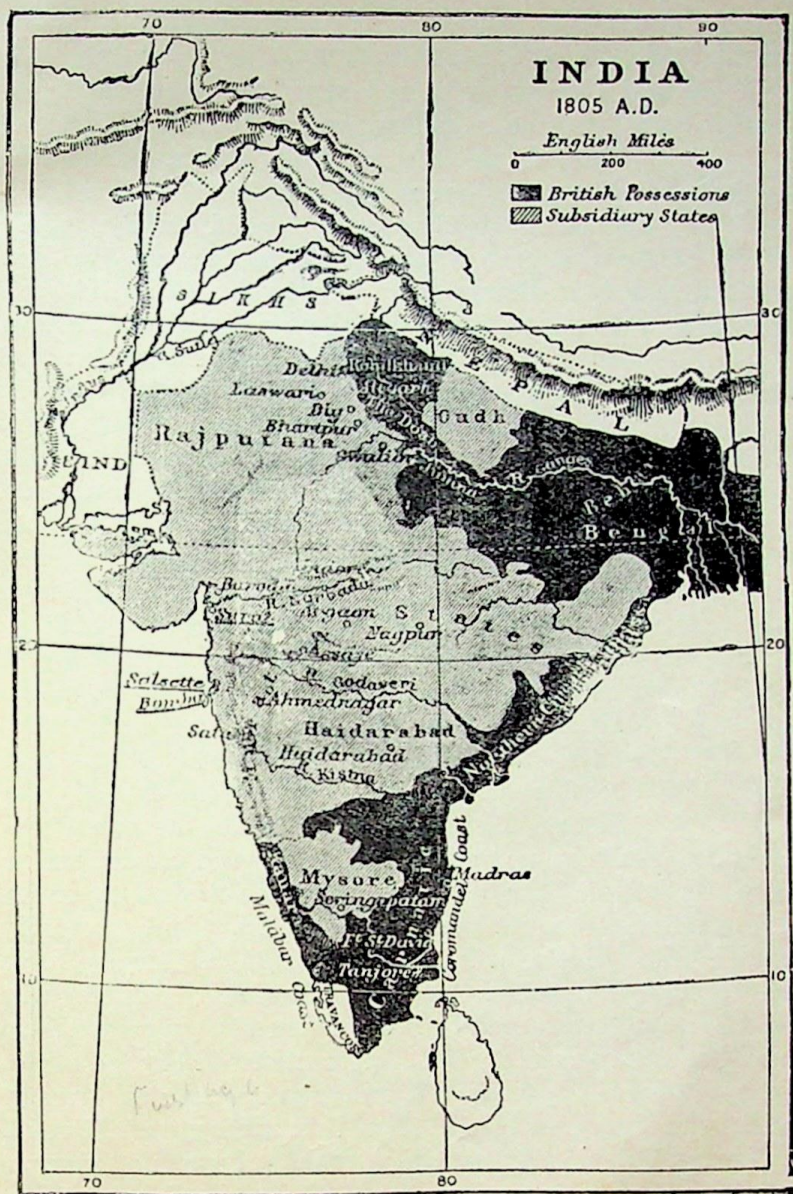
The results of the war were far-reaching. A large part of the dominion of the Marathas was acquired; the Doab had been annexed, the sea-coast between Bengal and

Madras was controlled by the Company; the Deccan came under the influence of the British, and Sindhia was obliged to withdraw therefrom; Rajputana was freed from the thraldom of the Marathas; Bundelkhand was effectively controlled, while Gujarat and Cuttack formed part of the British territory. The Maratha confederacy had been shattered, and the English power became supreme in Northern as well as in Southern India. Wellesley's wars were expensive, and the Directors disliked an administration that was constantly waging war against its neighbours. So long as the military operations were successful, the Directors gave him some sort of support. When, however, there was news of a disaster, such as Monson's retreat, or the failure of the British before Bharatpur, the opposition gained strength and Wellesley was obliged to leave India.

Wellesley has been justly called one of the founders of the British Empire in India. He reformed the administration; crushed the most dangerous foes of the Company, acquired an immense territory and established the British supremacy all over India. Lord Wellesley was a statesman rather than an administrator, who dealt with matters of high policy, and was little inclined to examine closely the defects of departmental administration. He had a clear vision, and a broad outlook. In the execution of his schemes he showed inflexible resolution, and was not deterred by the opposition of the home authorities. He occupies a place by the side of Warren Hastings, the Marquess of Hastings, and Dalhousie.

Cornwallis had grown old and feeble, and it was only his stern sense of duty that made him leave England.

Lord Cornwallis Second Term

Cornwallis did what he could to reverse Wellesley's policy. The Rajput states were left to the tender mercies of Sindhia, the operations of the Maratha freebooters continued unchecked, and the British frontier was withdrawn

to the Jumna. Cornwallis died three months after his arrival, and was buried at Ghazipur.

Sir George Barlow

Sir George Barlow, who had been senior member of Council, carried on this policy, and withdrew all protection from the Rajput chiefs, while the Marathas were given a free hand in Rajputana. Holkar was let off easily, while several of the Company's allies were surrendered to him.

Lord Minto

Minto took over charge from Barlow in 1807, and soon entered on a career of great activity and utility. He had taken a prominent part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and firmly believed in the policy of non-intervention. He was, however, compelled to abandon this policy, and to take energetic steps for the advancement of British interests.

The Rise of Sikh Power

As has been mentioned in an earlier part of this book, after the departure of Ahmad Shah, the Sikhs spread themselves over the Panjab, and formed a strong, though loose, confederation. Bands of Sikhs conquered a part of the Panjab. It was a period of anarchy and confusion, and the Sikhs were divided into numerous *Misls,* or clans. Each clan was led by a leader. Soon afterwards Ranjit Singh defeated his rivals, and became the acknowledged leader of the Sikhs. He ruled the Panjab; he conquered Kashmir; Peshwar was conquered later, and he desired to annex Sind also. Early in his career he wished to annex the territories south of the Sutlaj, and actually crossed the Sutlaj, in 1806, with a large force and occupied Ludhiana. The Cis-Sutlaj chiefs who wished to keep their independence, appealed to the Governor-General for protection. Sir Charles Metcalfe was sent to Amritsar to negotiate a treaty, which was signed in 1809. By this treaty, the British Government declared that they would have no concern with the territories and subjects of Ranjit Singh northward of the Sutlaj. The British frontier was advanced

from the Jumna to the Sutlaj, and Ludhiana became the frontier cantonment. This treaty proved very useful. The Company received an accession of territory, and Ranjit Singh remained a friend of the British till his death in 1839.

Lord Minto conducted a brilliant campaign against Java, which was captured in 1811. It was restored to the Dutch at the general peace. He also sent envoys to Persia and Kabul. The Shah of Persia agreed to dismiss the French Ambassador, and to resist any force which attempted to invade India through his dominions. Amir Shah Shuja of Afghanistan also promised to oppose all French or Persian forces that attempted to invade India. Another treaty on the same lines was concluded with the Amirs of Sind.

Lord Minto proved himself an able ruler and his treaties with foreign powers secured India against invasions and gave her much-needed peace.

Charter of 1813

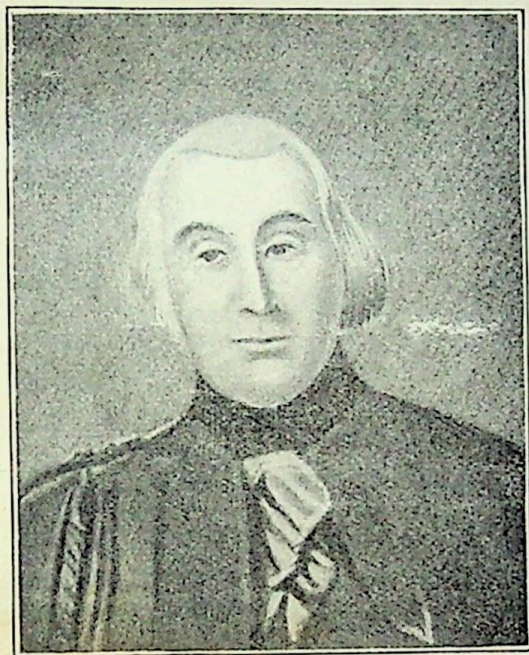
The Company's charter was renewed in 1813. Though the Company was allowed to retain the monopoly of the China trade, its monopoly of trade with India was destroyed. It could, and did, trade after 1813, but it could not expel trade rivals, and its profits dwindled. Grenville suggested that the Crown should directly take over the administration but he found few supporters, and the suggestion was not accepted. Missionaries were allowed admission under license, while an annual grant of about £10,000 was to be given for the 'revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India'. Improved arrangements were made for the training of civil and military servants of the Company. Subject to these conditions, the charter was sanctioned.

Dates.	Events in Indian History	Dates.	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1798	Lord Wellesley, Governor-General.		
1799	Fourth Mysore War; capture of Seringapatam.	1799	Bonaparte's return from Egypt.
1800	Death of Nana Farnavis.	1800	Union of Ireland with Great Britain.
1802	Battle of Poona; treaty of Bassein.	1802	Peace of Amiens.
1803	Second Maratha War; capture of Aligarh; battles of Delhi, Assaye, Laswaree and Argaon.	1803	Renewal of war with France.
1804	War with Holkar; campaign in Rajputana.	1804	Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of France.
1805	Wellesley recalled; Lord Cornwallis, Governor for a second time.	1805	Battle of Trafalgar. Battle of Austerlitz.
		1806	Death of Pitt. Battle of Jena.
1807	Lord Minto, Governor-General.	1807	Treaty of Tilsit.
1808	Missions to Persia and Kabul.	1808	Peninsular war.
1809	Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh.		
		1810	Torres Vedras.
1811	Conquest of Java.		
		1812	Retreat of the French from Moscow.
1813	Renewal of the Charter.		

CHAPTER VII

British Supremacy in India

The Marquess of Hastings

Minto was succeeded by Lord Moira, better known as the Marquess of Hastings. He was fifty-nine when he became Governor-General, but he bore the heavy burden of administration for nine years and a half with surprising success. He had displayed no marked aptitude for his task, and his record bore no indication that he would prove one of the most successful Governors-General of India. Yet he worked with extraordinary industry, and ruled with striking vigour. He never went to the hills, and never failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning. He was convinced that the policy of non-intervention had failed. In his private journals, he wrote as follows: 'Our object ought to be to render the British Government paramount, in effect,

MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

if not declaredly.' This statement explains his policy as Governor-General. He was determined to crush all the opponents of the Company, and to establish the supremacy of the Company throughout India. He carried out this policy with great success. At this time, the powerful Maratha chiefs thought of trying to regain their independence, and recovering their forgotten greatness. Daulat Rao Sindhia urged the Peshwa to revive the Maratha Confederacy, and the Peshwa tried to form a general league against the Company. The Gurkhas violated British territory, while Ranjit Singh looked with dubious satisfaction at this spectacle of disorder and impotence.

The Gurkha War

The Gurkhas made constant raids on the British frontier, and murdered British subjects. Hastings planned an admirable campaign which, if it could have been carried out in its entirety, would have soon ended the war. But owing to the unfamiliar nature of the country, several disasters occurred, and the British troops sustained a few severe defeats. The English officers, accustomed to the tactics usual in the plains, followed the same tactics on the mountains, and paid a heavy price for their ignorance. However, Colonel Nicholls, and Colonel Gardner, with his brave Rohillas, captured Almora, while Sir David Ochterlony operated from Ludhiana. The Gurkhas submitted, and signed the treaty of Sagauli, in 1816. By this treaty the British acquired Garhwal and Kumaun and most of the Terai. The Gurkhas withdrew from Sikkim, and accepted a British Resident at Kathmandu, the capital. The territories acquired proved of the highest value, and Nainital, Garhwal and Almora have been greatly developed since 1816. The Dehra Dun district, including the hill station of Mussoorie, was acquired. The peace concluded with the Gurkhas has never been broken, and thousands of Gurkhas annually enlist in the British Indian armies.

The Pindaris were a band of freebooters who generally followed in the wake of the Maratha armies and owed a more or less nominal allegiance to Maratha chiefs. They were supposed to be under the protection of their chiefs, and sometimes they acted as irregular soldiers. From the time of Sir George Barlow, they gained in strength, and devastated large tracts of land. They were very cruel, and wandered about the country, destroying crops, cities and men wherever they went. Like swarms of locusts they destroyed and wasted whatever province they visited. They had neither the tie of religion nor of national feeling, and men of all lands and of all religions were included among them. Encouraged by the pacific policy of Barlow and his successors, they increased in number. In 1814 their strength was estimated at 21,000 horse, 15,000 foot and 18 guns. Hastings prepared an army of 120,000, and divided it into two parts. They were to converge upon Central India from the north and the south, respectively. Hastings won over Sindhia, who signed a treaty releasing the Company from its obligations to abandon Rajputana to the Marathas. Amir Khan, a native of Sambhal, in the Moradabad district, who was one of the ablest of the Pindari leaders, was also won over by the grant of Tonk State. Hastings formed alliances with Bhopal, Udaipur, Jodhpur and Kotah, and by his skill, vigour and shrewdness, succeeded in isolating his enemies, and dealing them a crushing blow. The Peshwa was defeated at Kirkee and fled to Satara. Appa Sahib's Arab bodyguard attacked the Residency troops at Nagpur. The attack was gallantly repulsed, and Appa Sahib was placed in surveillance in a British Camp. The Peshwa was in flight, while Sindhia was too frightened to move. By these means, Hastings succeeded in breaking up the Maratha Confederacy, and completely destroyed its power. Holkar's troops were defeated at Mahidpur in December 1817, and the young Holkar remained at the discretion

The Pindaris and the Marathas

of the English. In February 1818, the Peshwa's last army was destroyed and his reign was declared at an end. By these means, the Peshwas, Holkar, and Appa Sahib were thoroughly subdued and British supremacy was acknowledged in Rajputana, and became a reality in the Maratha States. The operations against the Pindaris were crowned with complete success. The Pindari bands were destroyed, their leaders hunted out and killed, and their men dispersed. India was free from the spectre of organized robbery. Even more important were the effects of the destruction of the Maratha Confederacy. The power of the Marathas was destroyed once and for all, and the last obstacle to British supremacy was removed. One may regret the destruction of the Marathas as an independent power: and it is only fair to state that the Marathas added new features in the Indian administration. They awakened the people of the Maharashtra, and built up an extensive empire and a highly efficient army. They dominated a large part of India for a long time. Their army was well organised, and was open to talent. They maintained the military traditions of the country at a time when other powers in India were in a state of decay.

Hastings' domestic reforms

Hastings effected many improvements in Calcutta, and by repairing an ancient canal, secured a good water supply for Delhi. He paid great attention to roads and bridges. Hastings was very enlightened, and he made some attempts to reverse the mistaken policy of Lord Cornwallis which excluded Indians from all responsible offices. The powers of Indian officials were increased, and the number of courts also increased. Cornwallis had advocated a rigorous separation of the judicial from the executive functions. This was found to be impracticable, and the offices of Collector and Magistrate were combined in most places.

In the Agra province, an extremely elaborate system of survey and settlement was enacted by Regulation VII of 1822, which proved impracticable, as it was too elaborate. In the Madras Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro carried out the ryotwar settlement. Both in the Agra province and in the Madras Presidency, the demands of the Government were too exacting, and great suffering was endured by the zamindars and cultivators. This was due to the fact that the English officials did not possess sufficient experience of the land and its people. The Bombay system of settlement resembles the Madras plan. In Bombay too, great distress was caused by heavy assessment.

Settlement problems

The Marquess of Hastings made over charge to Mr. John Adam, the senior member of Council, on January 1, 1823. His administration was memorable for the destruction of the Maratha Confederacy and the Pindaris and the defeat of the Gurkhas. He restored British prestige, introduced several very salutary reforms, and firmly established British supremacy in India. Henceforth it became the universal principle of public policy that every State in India should make over the control of its foreign policy to the British Government and should defer to British advice regarding the internal management so far as it might be necessary to curb disorders or scandalous misrule. Besides acquiring immense territories and destroying the foes of the Company, Hastings settled the territories which passed under British control. As he said in his despatch, 'A vast field for amelioration lies before us.' Mr. Adam was succeeded by Lord Amherst.

Marquess of Hastings' retirement

The Burmese were at this time carrying on war in Assam, which was annexed to the Burmese empire in 1821–2. An incursion into Cachar in 1824 brought them into collision with the Company's troops. A few months earlier the Burmese had forcibly occupied an island in the British

Lord Amherst

territory, and killed some sepoys. The Court of Ava committed an egregious blunder by sending their best general, Bandula, in command of a considerable army to expel the British from Bengal. It was evident that a war could not be delayed any longer and Amherst was obliged to send an army to Rangoon. After considerable fighting, the British troops reached Yandaboo, on February 22, 1826, and two days later the Burmese Government sued for peace. By this treaty, the Burmese promised to pay a crore of rupees, and ceded Assam, Arakan, and the coast of Tenasserim. Amherst was not qualified by training or ability to direct a war, and the strategy of the English generals was faulty.

In 1826, the British captured Bharatpur, which had defied the vigorous efforts of Lord Lake In October 1824, the 42nd Native Infantry mutinied at Barrackpore, as the sepoys dreaded loss of caste by crossing the seas and were not provided with land transport. The mutiny was suppressed, and the number of the regiment was removed from the Army List.

Dates.	Events in Indian History	Dates.	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1813	Lord Hastings Governor-General.	1813	Battle of Vittoria, decides the Peninsular War; Battle of Leipzig.
		1814	Capitulation of Paris; abdication of Napoleon; Congress of Vienna.
1814–16	Nepal War.		
		1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1816	Treaty of Sagauli.		
1817–19	Pindari and the Third Maratha War.		
		1820	Accession of George IV in England.
		1821	War of Greek Independence.

Dates.	Events in Indian History	Dates.	Events in European History
A.D.		A.D.	
1822	Settlement in the Agra Province and Madras Presidency.		
1823	Departure of Lord Hastings; Amherst Governor-General.		
1824–26	First Burmese War.		
1826	Treaty of Yandaboo.		
1827	Fall of Bharatpur	1827	Battle of Navarino.
1828	Resignation of Lord Amherst.		

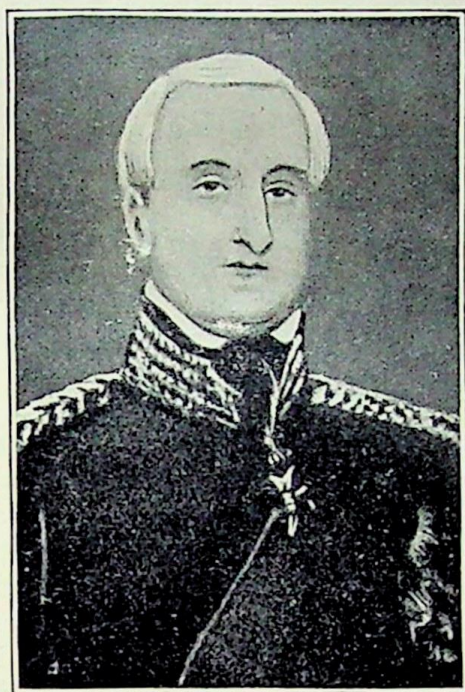
CHAPTER VIII

An Era of Reform

Lord William Bentinck

Lord William Bentinck had been Governor of Madras at an unusually early age, and was recalled on account of the mutiny at Vellore. He was, however, appointed Governor-General in 1828. Lord William Bentinck's tenure of office was remarkable for the number of reforms which he introduced in different departments. He was an enlightened ruler, who wanted to reform abuses, purify the administration, and give a share to the Indians in various appointments. He has to his credit many achievements justly entitled to be called victories of peace. With the intuition of a great mind, he discovered the weak points of administration, which was becoming effete under the withering influence of routine and the remedies he applied went to the root of the disease. He was determined to promote progress and reform among the people of India.

Acting on the instructions of the Directors, he drastically cut down the half-batta, or field allowances still enjoyed by the Company's officers in times of peace. The allowances of the Civil Service were also diminished. He enhanced the rates of pay of sepoys, and abolished flogging. The last measure was however unpopular, as flogging was still retained in the European army. Thus an odious distinction was created subjecting the British soldier to flogging and exempting the sepoys from that punishment. By his economical reforms, he effected a saving of nearly two crores of rupees. Lord William Bentinck was an enthusiastic supporter of Western ideas and Western institutions, and he did his best to diffuse them among

the people. His period of office was free from external war, and though a few disturbances did actually take place, they were small and of short duration, and did not prevent him from carrying out his policy. He interfered little in the affairs of the Indian States, and the Mysore State was taken over in 1831, only after a long period of misrule and mismanagement by the young Raja had convinced the Governor-General of the need for the direct administration of the State. Disorders broke out in Hyderabad, Gwalior, Indore, and Udaipur, and no attempt was made by the Governor-General to settle the disputes of the Rajput States. Bentinck paid comparatively little attention to problems of foreign policy. He was too busy with his schemes of reform in British India to heed the unrest which was spreading below the surface. He, however, sent Alexander Burnes on a mission to the Amirs of Sind, and Burnes was able to open up the Sind Valley to British trade.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

The Company had hitherto cared little for the education of its subjects. It is no doubt true that £10,000 a year had been allotted in 1813 for the purpose of education, but the progress had been disappointing. Lord William Bentinck

determined to carry out a comprehensive scheme, which would place the benefits of education at the disposal of Indians. At this time, however, a controversy was going on between advocates of Oriental learning and those of Western culture. The former contended that the proper type of education to be fostered by the Company should be one which could develop Eastern culture and languages. Hence they supported the development of Indian classical languages, Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. The other school of thought, headed by Macaulay, pointed out that these languages did not contain the results of modern science and modern thought. It was necessary, said Macaulay, that Indians should be acquainted with the best, the noblest and the truest that Europe had done and said, and for this purpose he recommended emphatically the adoption of the medium of English for teaching in all the schools and colleges. At that time Englishmen in India held very liberal views regarding the education of Indians. Missionaries had done something between 1800 and 1833, but an organized effort was needed and this could be supplied only by the Government. Macaulay's Minute on Education, was written in 1835, and it won the day for the champions of Western learning. Macaulay's views benefited the Indian middle class, which took advantage of the facilities offered at the time, and soon a vigorous, independent and patriotic middle class came into prominence. It was by the middle class that the Indian National Congress was founded; it was the middle class that organized agitation against unpopular measures, and it is largely through the efforts of the middle class, that India has won a certain amount of political freedom. His view was, however, harmful in that it left out of account our national culture, and ignored our national tradition. Our ancient classical languages were neglected; our masses remained ignorant, and primary education was starved in order that English

Lord William Bentinck and educational reform

secondary schools might be maintained in large numbers. Lord William Bentinck ought to have aimed at a blend of both the policies; while advancing Western education, he ought not to have neglected Eastern learning. In accordance with Macaulay's policy, many schools were established for imparting Western education. The Agra College was founded at Agra; the Calcutta Medical College was established; while in Bombay and Madras, great progress was made with the new educational scheme.

Abolition of Sati

Bentinck abolished the practice of *sati* in 1829. The practice of *sati* was of ancient origin, and though the number had diminished, it was by no means small. In Bengal, in 1818, 839 burnings had been recorded; while in 1828, *sati* had been practised by 463 widows. Barring a few orthodox Hindus, the people were pleased at the reform.

Thugs

The Thugs were of ancient origin, and can be traced back to the fourteenth century. They brutally murdered travellers, with whom they struck up friendship on the way, and buried them in pits prepared beforehand. Thugs had their own gods and goddesses, and were organized in a regular society, with secret codes. Their depredations increased in times of disorder and anarchy, and they became a terror to the peaceful. Colonel Sleeman effectively destroyed the Thugs, by employing thorough measures.

Judicial Reforms

Bentinck abolished the provincial courts of Appeal and Circuit that had been set up by Cornwallis and extended the jurisdiction of local courts of first instance. Appellate jurisdiction was vested in the district Judge and a Sadr Court was established at Allahabad. In filling appointments in the judicial department, Bentinck carefully considered the claims of Indians. He followed the same policy in the executive service. Indians were appointed to responsible but inferior posts in both branches of the Civil Service, and the narrow and harmful policy that had been pursued

by Lord Cornwallis was relaxed. Lord William deserves the greatest credit for this reform, as it enabled capable Indians to fill offices of trust and honour in their own country.

The English Parliament discussed the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833 and agreed that it should be extended for another twenty years. The monopoly of the China trade was abandoned, and the Company's dividends were made a charge on Indian revenue.

The Governor-General was empowered to make laws for the whole of India, and was styled Governor-General of India, instead of Governor-General of Bengal. A fourth member, called the Law Member, was added to the Governor-General's Council.

Lord William Bentinck left India in March 1835, leaving Sir Charles Metcalfe in charge. Metcalfe continued to be the head of the administration for about twelve months, and would have been confirmed in his appointment had he not offended the Directors by abolishing all restrictions on the press. He resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Auckland.

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1828	Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General.		
1829	Abolition of *sati*.	1829	Catholic Emancipation Act in England.
1829–37	Colonel Sleeman destroyed the Thugs.		
		July, 1830	Revolution in France; accession of William IV in England.
1831	Deposition of the Raja of Mysore.		
		1832	First Reform Act in England.
		1833	Abolition of slavery.
1834	Annexation of Coorg.		
1835	Macaulay's Minute on Education; foundation of the Calcutta Medical College and the Agra College.	1835	Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister in England.
1836	Lord Auckland, Governor-General.		
		1837	Accession of Victoria.

CHAPTER IX

The Forward Policy

Auckland's administration

Auckland was weak, vacillating, hasty, and ignorant. He mismanaged the Afghan War, and his weak policy lowered British prestige, and weakened British influence in India. He was incompetent and proved inefficient as a ruler. Auckland did, no doubt, try to advance education; he abolished the pilgrim-tax, and withdrew the control of the Government over temple endowments. Something was done for irrigation. Had he not been forced by the home authorities, it is likely that he would have made a good administrator. But he was hurried into adopting a policy which he had neither the strength to resist, nor the wisdom to understand.

Russia and Afghanistan

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia had been advancing towards the western frontier of India. The English statesmen watched her progress with anxiety and fear. Russia had established her influence in Persia, and Afghanistan was the only country which could act as a barrier against Russian aggression. If Afghanistan could be brought under the influence of India, the danger to her frontier would be remedied. The English statesmen did not take into consideration the fact that besides Afghanistan, the strong kingdom of the Panjab on the north, and the Rajputana desert and Sind on the south would also prove effective checks to Russian progress.

At this time, Dost Muhammad Khan, of the Barakzai clan, ruled Kabul and Ghazni. He was a brave, sagacious, and shrewd ruler, who had carved his way to the throne by sheer force of character. Herat

was held by a representative of Shah Shuja's Durrani dynasty. Dost Muhammad was sincerely desirous of an understanding with the Indian Government, and he told Auckland that he would give up Russia, if the Indian Government would promise him support. Unluckily, Auckland had determined to dethrone Dost Muhammad and to place Shah Shuja on the throne. He therefore prepared for war, and made a treaty with Ranjit Singh. The Maharajah pledged himself to support Shah Shuja and British troops invaded Afghanistan. At first, they made rapid progress, and it seemed that the scheme would be carried out. Shah Shuja was enthroned at Kandahar; Ghazni was stormed; Dost Muhammad fled into the Uzbeg territory, and Shah Shuja entered Kabul in triumph, in August 1839. Soon, however, difficulties arose. Shah Shuja was hated by the Afghans for helping the English to invade their country. Their patriotic ardour was aroused. It was a national movement, which spread like wild fire, and soon Kabul and its environs rose against Shah Shuja. Sir William Macnaughten, the British envoy, failed to establish Shah Shuja's authority, and an insurrection soon broke out. Burnes was murdered, the British headquarters were attacked, and in Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's eldest son, the masses found an able, brave and determined leader. The military authorities proved themselves totally unfit in the grave emergency, and Akbar Khan dictated his own terms to them. The British troops evacuated Kabul, and started on their fatal retreat down the narrow passes in 1842. The hillmen on the mountain tops took a terrible toll, and attacked them ceaselessly, until, out of 4,000 men, only a single survivor reached Jalalabad, which was gallantly held by General Sale. Kandahar was also held by General Nott against all attacks. A conservative government had come into power in July 1841, and Lord Ellenborough was sent to India to replace Auckland. Ellenborough wanted to bring the military operations to an end, but he found

it difficult to adopt such a line of policy immediately. The British in Afghanistan soon gained a brilliant success. General Pollock forced the passage of the Khyber and relieved Jalalabad, while Nott advanced to Ghazni, and destroyed the fortifications. The two officers then joined, and, after rescuing the English captives, retired from Kabul. The Government allowed Dost Muhammad to return to Afghanistan. The First Afghan War was mismanaged from beginning to end. This was due to ignorance of the country, the incompetence of the military authorities, and the vacillation of Auckland. It involved the Government in heavy losses in men and money which shattered its prestige.

Annexation of Sind

Soon after the First Afghan War, Sir Charles Napier, who had been sent to Sind by Ellenborough, determined to annex the territory. Pretexts were soon found for a war, and the Sindi army was defeated at Mianee, and Daho, and Sind was annexed. This action of Ellenborough has been justly criticized. Sind had always been friendly to the British and had signed a treaty, whereby it was stipulated that the 'two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other'. Yet Napier and Ellenborough shamelessly violated the treaty, and attacked a power with which they had no cause of quarrel whatever and which had rendered effective aid to them in the past. The annexation of Sind was immoral, and unjust. Ellenborough was obliged also to tame the powerful Gwalior force, which had got completely out of control, and was factious and insubordinate. At the end of 1843 British troops advanced into the Gwalior territory, and defeated the Gwalior army at Maharajpur. The strength of the army was reduced to 9,000 men, while a British contingent of 10,000 was stationed in the State. The Governor-General here, as in Sind, acted in a most arbitrary and ruthless fashion and wounded the feelings of Indians.

The Directors, tired of his overwhelming conceit and insufferable arrogance, recalled him. He was succeeded in July 1844 by Sir Henry Hardinge, a veteran of the Peninsular War.

Hardinge and Domestic Reforms

Hardinge found time to effect some reforms in the internal administration. He took preliminary steps towards planning an Indian railway; made progress with the Ganges Canal; developed education; and took measures for suppressing *sati* and infanticide in Indian States.

The First Sikh War

Ranjit Singh died in 1839, and with his death passed away the glory of the Sikh Empire. His son, Kharak Singh died a few months afterwards, and was succeeded by Sher Singh, whose legitimacy was doubted. The new Maharajah was murdered in 1843, and the kingdom was thrown into confusion. There were three important factions at that time, (1) Rani Jindankuar, a vigorous and ambitious woman with a powerful following, who claimed the throne for her son, Duleep Singh, (2) Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput, who had been appointed Governor of Jammu by Ranjit Singh, and (3) the army. The last was the most powerful of all, and all feared it. The army was inspired by a religious fervour and patriotic pride, and was well-disciplined and well-led. The Rani authorized the invasion of British territory across the Sutlaj, and war was declared on December 13, 1845.

The Battle of Sobraon

The Sikhs fought magnificently, but they were badly led, and sustained severe defeats. Sir Hugh Gough defeated them in the first battle, at Mudki, and their entrenchments at Ferozeshah were captured three days later. The Sikhs returned to the attack but were defeated at Aliwal on January 28, 1846. The last battle of the campaign took place at Sobraon, to the east of Ferozepur. The Sikhs were compelled to retire upon a bridge of boats, by which they had hoped to secure their retreat, and nearly ten

thousand fugitives were captured and slain in the bed of the river.

Hardinge concluded a treaty, whereby the land between the Sutlaj and the Beas was ceded to the British, the Rani Jindan was recognized as the titular Regent for her son, Duleep Singh. Kashmir was given to Gulab Singh, for a crore of rupees. Moreover, Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident at Lahore.

The arrangements effected by the Treaty were not satisfactory. Lawrence was constantly opposed by the Court, though he gained by tactfulness the sympathy of a number of influential Sardars. Soon afterwards, the Resident presided over the Regency Council and the stay of British garrisons was prolonged. Henry Lawrence, helped by his brothers George and John, inspired a band of young and promising civilians, who laboured hard for the people, restored order in the country, and gained the sympathy of the masses. Henry Lawrence founded a school of civilians, who have left their mark on the history of the Panjab. *Sati,* infanticide and mutilation were prohibited; the repair of roads was taken in hand and a large amount of money was spent on the Grand Trunk Road in the Panjab.

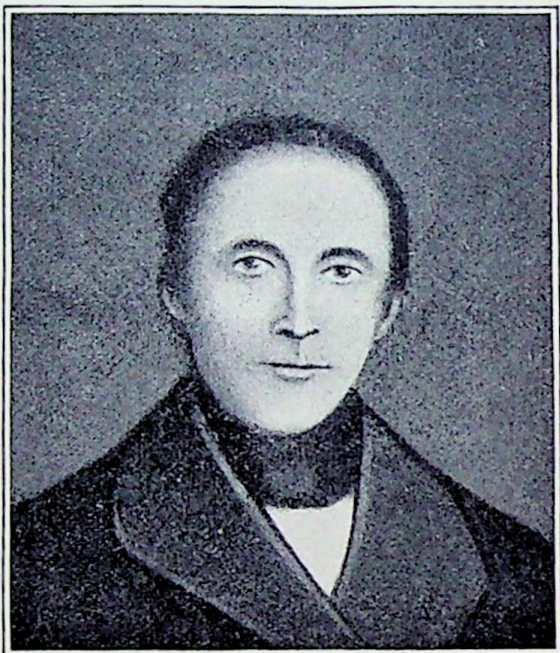
Lord Hardinge left India in 1847 amidst the regrets of all classes.

Dates	Events in Indian History.	Dates	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1839	Death of Ranjit Singh; capture of Ghazni; occupation of Kabul.	1839	Chartist Riots in Birmingham.
1841	Murder of Burnes and Macnaughten.	1841	Second Peel Administration.
1842	Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General.		
	Relief of Jalalabad; re-occupation of Kabul; restoration of Dost Muhammad.		
1843	Annexation of Sind.		
1844	Lord Hardinge, Governor-General.		
1845–46	First Sikh War.	1846	Lord John Russell, Premier.

CHAPTER X

Supremacy of the East India Company

Lord Dalhousie

Dalhousie was only thirty-five years of age when he became Governor-General. He had, however, already made his mark in England, and won the confidence of his superiors by his industry, prudence and judgment. Dalhousie suffered intensely from a painful disease, and he wrote as follows in 1849, 'I was broken down in health when I started, and had no business to come. I landed in Calcutta an invalid, almost a cripple.' During the whole eight years in India, he was never really well, and frequently suffered from intense pain. The day he left India, he was only able to go on board the ship with the aid of crutches. In spite of physical disability and acute suffering, his

LORD DALHOUSIE

extraordinary strength of will enabled him to achieve a success which few Governors-General have secured. He was imperious, haughty and self-confident by temperament, and brooked no opposition to his wishes. His industry was enormous; his vision was clear, while the policy which he conceived and tenaciously carried out resulted in the consolidation of British rule in India. He was prompt in his decision, and persistent in his plans.

The Annexation of the Panjab

Soon after landing in India, Dalhousie was confronted with a very delicate problem. The administration of the Panjab under Lawrence was efficient, economical and honest; but it did not commend itself to the Sikh aristocracy, whose love of independence and stern pride could not tolerate the existence of an alien power. The Sikhs had been conquerors under Ranjit Singh; they had now become a subject race. They preferred a national government, in spite of its extravagance and incompetence, and were intent on a determined struggle with the British. Trouble broke out at Multan, and a party of British officers was sent to supersede Dewan Mulraj. He resisted; two British officers were murdered and as the army authorities did not send reinforcements promptly, the conflagration spread. The Khalsa army refused to fight their own countrymen and as the hot weather had commenced, reinforcements did not arrive in time. Soon the Sikh Sardars raised the standard of the Khalsa, an alliance was made with their hereditary foes, the Afghans, and Peshawar was promised as the price of their support. War was inevitable. At the battle of Chillianwala, the Sikhs fought with reckless heroism, and though technically the British gained a victory, the advantage really lay with the Sikhs. Dalhousie wrote of it, 'We have gained a great victory . . but another such would ruin us.' Lord Gough was blamed for this and the English authorities sent Sir Charles Napier to supersede him.

The Battle of Chillianwala

However, before he arrived, the contest was over. Gough gained a complete victory at Gujarat. The British guns swept all before them and after bombarding the Sikh lines with terrible effect, the English infantry launched an attack, and completely dispersed the enemy. Rapid pursuit of the Sikhs completed the rout. Multan surrendered, and Dost Muhammad's Afghans were driven back. Dalhousie determined to annex the Panjab, and announced his decision in a proclamation. This was inevitable, and Dalhousie's administration ensured tranquillity and prosperity for the Panjab. A period of reforming activity commenced in the new province. The administration was completely overhauled. Roads were repaired, railways developed, the land revenue was settled after proper and careful inquiries, and a most successful irrigation policy was launched. Canals were constructed on a large scale. The material prosperity of the province increased by leaps and bounds. Sir Henry Lawrence and his brother, John Lawrence, and Charles Mansell had been appointed Commissioners. The two brothers did not get on well together, and Lord Dalhousie disliked Henry Lawrence's policy, which aimed at conciliating the Sikh Sardars, and ignoring the peasantry. Hence, work was found for Sir Henry in Rajputana, while John Lawrence became the Chief Commissioner, and the Board was abolished. The work of these men completely changed the face of the Panjab within a few years.

Lord Dalhousie concluded a treaty with Dost Muhammad in 1855, whereby he promised to be 'friend of the British and an enemy of their foes'.

Meanwhile, the Burmese had again begun to give trouble. British merchants in the Burmese territory were maltreated and on their representation to Dalhousie in 1851, a British vessel was sent to inquire into it, but it came into conflict with the Rangoon forts, and war was declared by Dalhousie. He planned an expedition which

proved brilliantly successful. Rangoon was occupied in 1852, and employed as a base for future operations. The English won an easy victory and by a proclamation dated December 20, 1852 annexed the province of Pegu together with the rich and flourishing port of Rangoon.

The Second Burmese War

Before Dalhousie's time a Hindu ruler was allowed to adopt an heir to the throne. This was in accordance with Hindu Law, and the Company had usually followed this policy. Dalhousie, however, wanted to use every opportunity for the acquisition of territory and revenue, as he was convinced that British rule offered greater benefit to the subjects than the administration of Indian rulers. He therefore decided to annex the territories of those rulers who had no natural heirs to succeed them. Dalhousie applied this doctrine to dependent states only, and not to those whose sovereignty dated back before the Company's regime. Acting on this policy, he annexed no less than eight states, great and small. Between 1848 and 1854, the States of Satara, Jaitpur, Sambalpur, Baghat, Udaipur (Central India), Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed. Certain titular sovereignties, such as those of the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore, and the Peshwa were also abolished. All Indian rulers were naturally frightened at this policy. They never knew when their turn might come next, and they sympathized with the suffering of their brethren. Some of the princes who had been deprived of the right of adoption were very popular with their subjects, and when the Mutiny broke out in 1857, they sided with them. The Rani of Jhansi was a most determined, brave, and enterprising lady, who gave great trouble to the British during the Mutiny. Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse was one of the most important causes of the Mutiny. It made everybody anxious for his hearth and home. It rendered property insecure; it

Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse

unsettled men's minds and it created a deep distrust of the intention of the Company among the people.

Annexation of Oudh

Dalhousie next turned his attention to Oudh. The Government of Oudh was no doubt thoroughly corrupt. It was extravagant, inefficient and weak. In 1847 Lord Hardinge had impressed upon the king the need for reform. The king promised compliance, but did nothing. Meanwhile disorder increased in the country, and Dalhousie asked Sleeman to report upon the condition of the country. Sleeman's report is a terrible indictment of the Oudh government, and Dalhousie was obliged to take drastic action. Dalhousie merely wished to take over the government of the country. The King of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah, an incompetent ruler, was to be guaranteed a royal title, liberal allowances and a limited jurisdiction, but the home authorities overruled him, and Oudh was annexed. The king performed the one good action of his life by refusing to sign the treaty. The annexation of Oudh was a great blunder. The kingdom had always been on very good terms with the British, and had frequently helped them with men and money. It was, moreover, the recruiting ground of the Company's Indian army, and bred a race of sturdy peasantry. The people lost faith in the promises of the Company, and Oudh rose in revolt a year later. By his actions, Dalhousie offended nearly all the important sections of the Indian community.

Educational progress

Sir Charles Wood in a despatch, published in 1854, outlined a comprehensive programme of education in India. Each province was to have a Department of Public Instruction, and each Presidency was to have a University. Training institutions were to be established; vernacular schools increased, and a definite system was laid down with regard to grants-in-aid. The system was too rigid to be of lasting use to Indians. It stifled voluntary enterprise, and individual effort. However, it offered facilities to

Indians for the study of Western arts and sciences, and was, to this extent, useful.

Other Reforms

Dalhousie organized a Public Works Department which immediately took in hand the construction and repair of roads and bridges. The expenditure on public works was increased, and the Grand Trunk Road was taken in hand. Attention was paid to the Ganges Canal, and other canals were projected. Dalhousie sketched a well-considered plan of trunk and branch railways, and the earliest line, a short one from Thana to Bombay, was opened in 1853. A year later the coal-fields of Raniganj were connected with Calcutta, and a few miles of rail were laid in Madras. The telegraph system was inaugurated in 1853, and in a few years most of the important military stations were linked up by telegraph. The postal system was reformed, and a uniform half-anna postal rate was introduced. The North-West Provinces were at this time administered by an exceptionally able man, Mr. James Thomason, who was Lieutenant-Governor from 1843 to 1853. Thomason co-operated warmly with Dalhousie, and organized extensive public works, promoted education and reformed the jail administration of the province.

Renewal of Charter, 1853

In 1853 the Charter of the Company was renewed for the last time, not for any definite period, but during the pleasure of Parliament. The covenanted service was thrown open to competition, and provision was made for the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal.

Dalhousie's Achievement

Dalhousie's work for education, and his other reforms proved beneficial to the country. But he found it difficult to work with his colleagues, and was stubborn and masterful. He did not take sentiment into account, and worshipped efficiency too zealously. His doctrine of lapse, and the annexation of several Indian States sowed seeds of suspicion, distrust and enmity among a large and influ-

ential class, and was an important cause of the Indian Mutiny. He was hasty in his measures and wanted to effect far-reaching changes in a short time.

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1848	Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General; Second Sikh War began; Annexation of Satara by Lapse.		
1849	Annexation of the Panjab.		
1852	Second Burmese War.		
1853	First Indian Railway opened; Telegraph opened in India.	1853	Crimean War.
1854	Education Despatch of Sir Charles Wood.		
1856	Annexation of Oudh.		

Finished

CHAPTER XI

The Company's System of Government

The Constitution of the Company

The East India Company was, as we have seen, only a trading corporation founded in 1600. A number of English merchants had been granted a royal charter permitting them the monopoly of trade with India. Till the year 1744 the activities of the East India Company, in accordance with its original designs, were purely commercial. They established a number of factories on the coasts of India and built forts for their protection. For about a hundred and fifty years they carried on trade with the kingdoms of several Hindu and Muslim rulers of India. The disruptive tendencies in Indian States and the ambitions of the rival commercial companies trading with India obliged the East India Company to take part in affairs and wars which ultimately brought certain tracts of land under their possession and changed the character of the Company. The three Anglo-French wars and the battles of Plassey and Buxar resulted in the acquisition by the East India Company of small territories in the modern Madras and Bombay presidencies and of the diwani of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thus by the year 1765 the Company had undergone a definite and marked change. In 1765 it was no longer a mere peaceful trading company, but had also become a political power. Naturally new problems arose. A section of British politicians who did not approve of the Company's exercise of such vast powers drew the attention of the English nation to what was going on and demanded that its powers should be curtailed and that the Parliament should control it. Chatham suggested in 1766 certain changes in the

constitution of the Company. The various officials of the East India Company returned to England with enormous wealth, and yet the Company applied for financial help and wanted a loan. The Parliament therefore appointed select and secret committees to enquire into the East India Company's political and financial conduct. The result of this enquiry was the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773.

This Act was intended to remodel the constitution of the East India Company in its three-fold aspects. First, it was necessary to define the relationship between the Crown and the Company. Secondly, the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors were remodelled. Their control and direction over the Governors of the East India Company's territories were definitely stated. Lastly, the relations of the various Governors in India were regulated.

The Regulating Act subjected the East India Company to the control of the British Parliament. It was required to submit its correspondence to Ministers. The constitution of the Court of Directors and of Proprietors was so changed as to ensure unity of policy. The Court of Directors were empowered, as before, to control the affairs and the policy of the Company's officers in India. For the Government of Bengal, the Act set up a new Council consisting of the Governor-General of Bengal and four members nominated by the Parliament in the first instance. This Council was given power to control the affairs of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. A Supreme Court was established in Calcutta to try cases against the conduct of the East India Company's officers.

The Act failed to bring about the desired results. As the Governor-General was not given any power of veto in the Council, the result was that he was always in a minority in Council. This proved a source of constant trouble and anxiety. Hence the conflict between the Governor-General and the Council was at times very acute.

Again, though the Governor-General in Council was empowered to control the affairs of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, there were certain serious omissions. The two presidencies could and did act independently of the orders of the Governor-General in Council, because they received direct orders from the Court of Directors while in an emergency they had to be given a certain amount of freedom. Further, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was not clearly defined in the Act. The result was a sharp conflict between the Council and the Supreme Court. The general effect of the Regulating Act was that the Governor-General found it exceedingly difficult to carry on smoothly the work of administration. Another Act became a vital necessity. The Act of 1781 ended the conflict between the Supreme Court and the Council. In 1783 Charles James Fox introduced two Bills to remove the defects of the Regulating Act, but failed to carry them through the Houses of Parliament. In 1784 William Pitt the younger, succeeded in getting an Act passed, which is known as Pitt's India Act.

By this Act, a Board of Control was set up. Copies of all despatches received from and sent to India were to be placed in the hands of this Board. Without its approval, no orders could be sent to India, except in purely commercial matters. The result of these provisions was that the powers of the Court of Directors were considerably reduced and parliamentary control was tightened. It would not be correct to assume that the Government of the East India Company's territories was virtually transferred to the British Cabinet, because the Court of Directors retained considerable powers of patronage and legislation. This Act reduced the number of the Governor-General's Council from four to three. The Governor-General and three other members were to constitute the Council. The Governor-General was also given the casting vote. Further, by an Act of 1786, the Governor-General was given the power of over-ruling his Council,

and thus the conflict between him and his Council was avoided.

In 1793, according to one of the provisions of the 1773 Act, the charter of the East India Company was to be renewed. Without any serious or important curtailment of the powers of the Company, it received a new charter. One important provision of this charter was that the Governors of the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay were empowered to over-rule their councils, whose strength had already been reduced from four to three members.

In 1813 the Company's charter was renewed for 20 years more. By this charter the East India Company's subordination to the Crown was more definitely asserted; the Company lost its monopoly of trade with India, but retained that of trade with China; and a sum of one lakh of rupees was allotted for the improvement of the education of Indians.

In 1833 the charter was renewed for another 20 years. Under it the Company lost its trade monopoly with China also; the Governor of Bengal was to be called the Governor-General of India; the Governor-General in Council was given the power of making laws for the whole of India and not only for the Bengal presidency as had been the rule up to 1833; a Law Member was added to the Council of the Governor-General of India. A new province was formed called the North-Western Provinces (now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), and placed under a Lieutenant Governor; and Indians were promised a greater share in the administration of their country.

Efforts were made from time to time to transfer the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, but they were not successful. It was, however, clear to all that the East India Company's days were numbered. When the question of the renewal of the Company's charter came up in 1853, it was decided that it should be renewed for the last time and for an indefinite period. Another

important change was that the civil servants of the Company were not to be nominated by the Court of Directors but were to be recruited by a competitive examination. The chief defect of this provision was that Indians could not become civilians as the examination was held in England.

The Mutiny of 1857 provided the British Government with ample justification for the abolition of the East India Company. The Act of 1858 vested all the territories of the Company in the Crown. Thus after a long life of 250 years the East India Company disappeared.

Let us pass on to the consideration of the revenue and judicial administration of the East India Company's territories from 1765 to 1858. The system of Moghul administration founded by Akbar had broken down after the death of Aurangzeb. In Bengal where the Company was called upon to administer the country, there had grown up a class of zamindars who exercised great power. The Company secured the right of the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. Since the task of land revenue settlements was complex and difficult, Clive allowed Raza Khan, an experienced administrator, to undertake it. This plan, however, proved a failure partly because of slackness and lack of experience and partly because of corruption. Therefore in 1769 supervisors were appointed to find out the amount of payment made by the tenants to the zamindars. But the latter made it impossible for the supervisors to succeed in their efforts. In 1772 the Company assumed the direct administration of the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and collectors were appointed in each district. The latter resorted to the farming system, and auctioned lands to the highest bidders for a term of five years. A Committee of Circuit was created to tour the province and suggest a better scheme. The system broke down, as the zamindars extorted as much revenue from the tenants as they possibly could. Oppression was very

Land Revenue Settlement in Bengal

great. So in 1773 the collectors were withdrawn. In 1774 the superintendence of collection was vested in provincial councils, established at six important places, but the actual work was to be done by Indian amins.

An Amini Commission was set up to tour the province and suggest a better workable plan. Its report clearly brought out the harshness of the farming system. In 1781 the organization was overhauled. A Central Committee of Revenue was established at Calcutta, and collectors were placed under it. The plan, however, failed. The people suffered great misery owing to frequent enhancements, annual settlements, and harsh methods of realization, and agriculture became an unprofitable and decaying concern.

Some changes were introduced by John Macpherson who succeeded Warren Hastings. The problem, however, remained unsolved. Lord Cornwallis assumed the reins of administration of India in 1786, and to him is due the credit for the solution of this problem. In 1787 he ordered the Central Committee of Revenue, now called the Board of Revenue, to make enquiries into the usages, customs and tenures of the tenants and villages. The Board of Revenue was ordered to make long term settlements which after a certain period were to be declared permanent. Before long, however, in 1793, Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement with the consent and approval of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. By this, the state demand was fixed in perpetuity at 90 per cent of the actual sums realized by the zamindars. It was expected that the fixity of the state demand would stimulate the zamindars to improve agriculture by investing more capital and taking greater interest in the land. They were expected to profit greatly by reclaiming the waste land and bringing it under cultivation. These aims were partly realized. The Permanent Settlement brought about agricultural prosperity and rendered the task of the realization of state revenue very easy. But the system

had two great defects. On the one hand, the government was deprived of profit through improvements in agriculture, and on the other no limits were imposed on the right and power of the zamindars to realize rents from their tenants. On the whole, however, Permanent Settlement proved a boon to the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; and also to Benares to which it was extended in 1795.

Madras

In Madras also, we find the same confusion in land revenue administration at the time of the Company's acquisition of territories. Mohammad Ali of Carnatic was a weak and incompetent ruler. He borrowed from the English and assigned the revenue of territories to them. The result was that his English creditors extorted as much as they could. In 1784, the Company's possessions consisted of the Northern Circars and a few other towns. After this date, many additions were made to its territories. In the latter there were two kinds of lands called the zamindari land and the Haveli land. In the former, annual settlements were made till 1778. Then began the five-yearly settlement. In 1783 again the annual settlement was resorted to only to be replaced in 1786 by three-yearly settlements. When Lord Hobart became the governor of Madras in 1794, he appointed Collectors. Between 1802 and 1805, the Permanent Settlement was introduced in the Northern Circars. In the haveli lands there existed two plans; either the revenue was realized directly from the cultivators or the lands were farmed out to the highest bidders.

Between 1792 and 1802, the rest of the parts now included in the Madras Presidency were conquered or annexed. In Lord Wellesley's time various systems were prevalent; in the Northern Circars, Permanent Settlement; in Baramahals, Canara, and ceded districts, Ryotwari system; in Tanjore, Malabar, and Carnatic, farming and village community systems. The policy of Lord Wellesley was to uproot the Polygars, the zamindars of

that presidency. Till 1807–8 the Permanent Settlement was accepted by every administrator to be the best system. Gradually, however, it ceased to command general support. A protracted debate took place in the House of Commons whether the tenants should pay directly to the state, or the Permanent Settlement be introduced, or the village community system should be followed. The supporters of these schemes were Lord Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Munro and Hodgson. Sir Thomas Munro's Ryotwari system gained the day. The settlement was carried out between 1820 and 1827. In this system, the Government directly deals with the cultivators and recognizes no middle agency like the zamindars, farmers or village community. Every village is carefully numbered and assessed. The rental is fixed for a number of years. So long as the cultivator pays the assessment he holds the land. The result of this was that the Ryot was spared from the oppression of the middlemen. But it broke the village community organization of a number of centuries. The people suffered greatly from the harshness of the local officers of the Government, and the greed of the Court of Directors who wanted to enhance the assessment every now and then. Sir Thomas Munro's desire was to reduce the assessment and to give permanency to it, but this was neglected by the State for a long time. The Ryotwari settlement was also introduced in the Bombay Presidency.

The North Western Provinces now called the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was created a separate province in 1833. Before this date it had been included in Bengal. Benares was acquired in 1795, the ceded districts in 1801, the conquered districts in 1803, and Oudh in 1856.

The imperfect knowledge of the British administration produced distress among the cultivators here as elsewhere. In Benares we have noted the introduction of Permanent Settlement, and when the ceded and conquered districts

were acquired by the East India Company, the Permanent Settlement system was generally favoured. Therefore in 1801 and 1803 it was announced that after two three-yearly settlements followed by one four-yearly one, the Permanent Settlement would be introduced in the ceded and conquered districts.

In 1807 a special commission was appointed to tour the province and report. The Commissioners reported that the country was not fit for Permanent Settlement because there was a considerable amount of waste land. Though the Governor-General agreed to the introduction of this system in the United Provinces, the Court of Directors whose opinion had begun to change owing to Sir Thomas Munro's opposition, rejected this proposal. Attempts were made by Lord Minto and Lord Hastings to convert the Court of Directors but they refused to yield. Ultimately in 1822 a regulation was passed which introduced the Village Settlement. The plan adopted for carrying it out was very complicated and it would have required fifty or sixty years to finish the work, but it was simplified by Lord William Bentinck in 1833. According to this the revenue is settled for a limited period neither with the zamindars nor with the ryots but the entire village community is responsible to the State for the revenue both separately and jointly. The agreement is signed by the head of the village, called the Lambardar.

The defects of the 1822 scheme were that the assessment of revenue was left to the judgment of the revenue collectors. The profit to the communities was only 17 per cent and there was no limit fixed for the state demand. Lord William Bentinck reduced the state demand to 66 or 67 per cent, thus leaving a profit of 33 or 34 per cent and introduced the long lease system. In 1855, the demand was reduced to 50 per cent.

This village, or Mahalvari, settlement was introduced in the Panjab also, with the difference that whereas in

the North Western Provinces the term of the lease was 30 years, it was only 20 years in the Panjab.

To carry out these settlements, a Board of Revenue was established in every province, and Commissioners and Collectors were to work under it. The collectors were given judicial and executive powers also.

In the beginning the East India Company did not interfere with the existing institutions of the country. But the policy of non-interference could not be maintained for a long time, and Warren Hastings set up a civil and a criminal court in each district. The civil courts were presided over by English Collectors who dispensed civil Justice. The Collectors supervised revenue collection work also. The Sadar Diwani Adalat was a court of appeal for civil cases. Similarly criminal cases were decided by the Criminal Courts. The highest Court of Appeal set up by him was called the Sadar Nizamat Adalat.

In 1773, a Supreme Court was established at Calcutta by the Regulating Act. It was not till 1781 that its jurisdiction was clearly defined and its conflict with the Company's Courts ended.

Lord Cornwallis made certain definite improvements. He retained the Sadar Diwani Adalat as the highest Court of Appeal. He also established four provincial courts of appeal for civil cases. For criminal work, the Sadar Nizamat Adalat continued to be the highest court of appeal, but its work was taken over by the Governor-General and Council. He also established Circuit courts to try criminal cases. One of his important reforms was the separation of the judicial and revenue functions. The collector became a purely revenue official with no judicial powers. But the greatest drawback of Cornwallis' system was the total exclusion of Indians from all but the most subordinate services.

The Marquess of Hastings introduced other reforms in the system. He increased the number of courts, and

appointed Indians to a few higher posts. He also abolished the separation of the judicial and revenue services. Lord William Bentinck entrusted Indians with responsible judicial and revenue duties. The Collector combined the office of the District Magistrate with that of the Collector, thus undoing the work of Lord Cornwallis. He also abolished the provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Lord Cornwallis. In 1833 provision was made for appeals to the Privy Council in England. After this few notable changes were introduced till 1857–58.

The net result of the changes introduced was that judicial administration became better organized and more efficient.

Condition of Society

When the East India Company became a political power after the battle of Buxar, Indian society was disorganized. The growth of liberal ideas in England, the enthusiasm of missionaries for the conversion of Hindus and Muslims to Christianity, the needs of the administration, and the growing feeling of greater security induced the Company to introduce social reforms. Attempts were made to improve the education of Indians.

Warren Hastings had opened a school for the study of Persian and Arabic at Calcutta in 1781; and Duncan one for the study of Sanskrit at Benares in 1791. Their motives were twofold. They wanted to revive the study of ancient classical cultures of Hindus and Muslims and to get some learned men for the administration of justice. The Bengal Asiatic Society was founded by Sir William Jones with the help and support of Warren Hastings. Between 1791 and 1813 the missionaries of Serampore founded a number of schools to spread the Christian faith, and Fort William College was founded by Lord Wellesley for the education of civil servants.

In 1813 the British Parliament sanctioned the annual expenditure of one lakh of rupees for education in India.

Till 1823, however, even this small sum was not spent. Only a fraction of it was used in giving aid to some schools and societies. During this period of ten years many private efforts were made. In 1816–17 the Vidyalaya was opened in Calcutta; and in 1823 the Agra College was founded.

In 1823 a Committee of Public Instruction was appointed to carry on the work of education. This Committee did creditable work for about 12 years. During these years there was a great controversy between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The former insisted that the grant should be used only for the study of oriental classical languages and literature; the latter pleaded ably for English education. Financial administrative and political considerations as well as the desire of a small section of Indians forced Lord William Bentinck to pass a resolution in 1835, by which the policy of government was to be the spread of only western education. This policy was intended to produce a class of person "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." The Orientalists condemned this policy as anti-Indian, unjust and improper. Auckland allowed a small sum for printing Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian works.

In 1842 the Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education in Calcutta. In 1844 Lord Hardinge gave a further impetus to the cause of English education by declaring that those Indians who had some knowledge of English would be preferred in the services. This state of affairs continued till 1853. The state supported 30 schools and colleges for English education (in Bengal) and only 37 vernacular schools, in the vain hope that those instructed in the former would spread western culture among the people in general.

In the North Western provinces, James Thomason, who was the lieutenant governor from 1843 to 1853, used his time and energy in promoting vernacular education. He

also established the Thomason College of Engineering at Rurki.

In Bombay Elphinstone tried to encourage classical, vernacular and English education. He helped the Sanskrit scholars, increased the vernacular schools and set up a school for English education, and one medical school. His successor Malcolm also encouraged vernacular education. Thus in 1853 there were 233 vernacular schools maintained by Government.

In Madras Munro tried to open many vernacular schools, but with his death his scheme was dropped. However, a large number of missionary schools were opened.

Hitherto, each presidency or province had acted independently. Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Wood formulated a general policy for the whole of India. Vernacular education was not to be disregarded. Secondary schools were encouraged. Grants-in-aid were to be given to all private schools—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian. Universities were to be established at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. A Department of Public Instruction was created in each province, to carry out this scheme. Though Wood's despatch laid great emphasis on vernacular education, the English studies received greater encouragement.

It is true that the educational policy was not national in so far as it did not attempt to improve the vernaculars, but it should not be forgotten that its results were beneficial. Ideas of nationalism, freedom, and self-government began to spread. Liberalism replaced superstitions, orthodoxy and conservatism.

The movement for the emancipation of slaves started in England by Wilberforce found its counterpart in the attempts of Lord Cornwallis (1789), Lord Minto (1811), and Lord William Bentinck (1832), to stop slavery in India by gradual stages. In 1843 an act was passed in India by which the courts were not to recognize the status of slavery. In 1860 slavery was made a penal offence.

Human sacrifice was prevalent among certain primitive tribes. Lord Wellesley stopped it in 1802. Among certain sections infanticide was prevalent. The government declared it to be murder. The practice, however, continued till 1870.

Sati, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands also prevailed to a certain extent. From 1818 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his followers carried on, along with the missionaries, a vigorous propaganda against it. Ultimately, Lord William Bentinck, after consulting

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

his advisers, prohibited sati in 1829. There was little opposition to this order and the people regarded it as useful and necessary.

During this period there were organized bands of robbers. The most dangerous of them were the Thugs.

It was under Lord William Bentinck that the Thugs were suppressed by Colonel Sleeman.

Two other reforms deserve notice. One was passed by Dalhousie, allowing converts the right of inheritance. This was due to missionary efforts. This aroused suspicion in the minds of Indians, who thought that government was trying to spread Christianity. The other was passed by Lord Dalhousie legalizing widow-remarriage.

These reforms removed some of the existing evils of Indian society, and English education trained them for offices of trust in their own country. But the movement created alarm among a section of the Indian population. The abolition of Sati, the allowance of the right of inheritance to converts and the emphasis on western education made some people think that their religion was in danger. The Sepoy Mutiny was the result of these suspicions and doubts.

The Economic Condition of India

Indian industry and agriculture were in a very prosperous condition in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Agriculture was a paying concern in the whole of the country except in a few parts where there was no security; and though the land revenue was not high, it was realized with considerable difficulty. India was also the home of many industries. Weaving was the national industry of India. Her fabrics were sold in all foreign countries. Besides this, people were engaged in dyeing, tanning, working in metals, pottery, carpet-making, and a number of similar industries.

The prosperity of India was affected by the East India Company. Her industry declined, and precious metals were exported in large quantities. The reasons for the decline of her prosperity were numerous. In the earlier paragraphs it has already been shown that the early assessments were unduly severe. This was probably due to inexperience as they were reduced, later on. Again, the East India Company's servants took enormous sums out

of India, and this involved a drain on her resources. As the Company was chiefly a trading concern, its main interest was to make the largest profits on its capital. While it had greatly encouraged the export of Indian commodities to England in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century the position was completely changed, and English manufactures were encouraged by every possible means. Indian industries declined, and many of the most skilful artisans gave up their occupations. Again, Indians were also forced to work in the Company's factories. By law the commercial agents of the Company were given vast powers over village weavers. The export of Indian manufactures was discouraged by the imposition of high duties. On the other hand, the import of English goods into India was encouraged by allowing their import free of duty or on payment of a nominal duty. Moreover, there were unfair inland duties, for instance 2½ per cent on English goods and 7½ per cent on Indian. For the sake of revenue these were not even partially abolished till Lord Auckland's time. Besides the narrow commercial policy of the Company, the Industrial Revolution in England made it very difficult for Indians to compete with foreign goods. After the introduction of machinery, it was possible to manufacture cheap goods in very large quantities. England could produce a thousand pieces of cloth where only ten had been possible before, and as India did not benefit by these inventions, and for a long time had no machinery of her own, her industry suffered greatly. Owing to these causes, Indian manufactures declined and she remained a purely agricultural country till the end of the nineteenth century. She produced raw material, such as cotton, which was sent to foreign countries, and returned to India as a finished product.

In the last half of the eighteenth century, precious metals, such as gold, silver, diamonds, etc. were exported to England by the Company and its servants in very large

quantities and this exhausted her resources. Again, all the high offices were closed to Indians. Efforts were made to improve the moral and material condition of the people, but these efforts were only partially successful. Some Governors-General did constructive and beneficial work for India. Warren Hastings, Bentinck and others tried to improve her social condition. Lord Auckland decided to construct some canals. Hardinge opened the Ganges Canal. Lord Dalhousie followed the same policy. He proposed the Baree Doab Canal. He went further, and established a Public Works Department for the improvement of the means of communication. The Grand Trunk Road was built and the first railway-line between Bombay and Thana was opened in 1853. The postal system was improved and the telegraph was introduced. This department was expected to prove more beneficial to Indians. Revenue administration was improved, and the burden of assessment was lightened. Colleges were opened for the education of Indians, and grants in aid of education were given in some provinces.

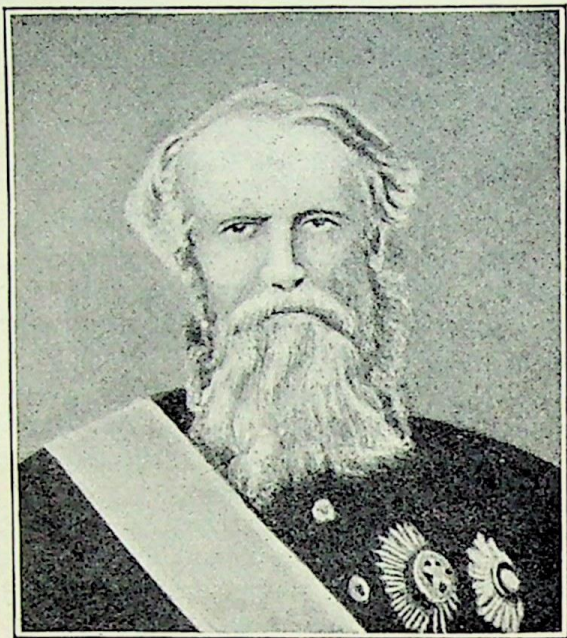
CHAPTER XII

The Indian Mutiny

There was a general feeling of unrest in the country, and people started rumours of various kinds, which spread from place to place. The dispossessed princes aroused the sympathy of all classes, and even those States which had not been affected by Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse began to fear for their safety. It has been said that men may forgive the loss of their friends, but they can never forgive the loss of property. The rulers who had been expropriated brooded over their wrongs, and longed for a time when they would have a chance of regaining their states. They were looked upon with great respect by the masses, who continued to show them the respect and deference which they had commanded in the past. Again, the annexation of Oudh was a great blunder, and though Wajid Ali Shah was degenerate and inefficient, his wife exercised tremendous influence. She gathered together all the discontented elements, and made a bold bid for sovereignty. The feudal ties had knit together the ryots and taluqdars of Oudh, and no conflict of interest prevented them at that time from fighting for a common cause. Again, though the Emperor, Bahadur Shah II, was old and infirm, the name of the Moghul Emperor still commanded respect and obedience among many people. Dalhousie had proposed to terminate the dynasty after the death of Bahadur Shah, but agreed, as a compromise, to recognize an heir-apparent if he would leave Delhi. Again, the Peshwa's son, Nana Sahib, who lived near Cawnpore, had been deprived of the pension which his father had enjoyed, and he entertained very

Causes of the Sepoy Revolt

bitter sentiments towards the Company. The Indian soldiers had grievances of their own. While serving in recently conquered territories, as the Panjab, they expected extra allowances, and when their wishes were not granted, they openly mutinied. The discipline in the army was lax and the treatment of brave and hardy veterans who had seen service in many lands, by young and inexperienced officers was sometimes very harsh. Lastly the introduction of the Enfield rifle, one of the reforms instituted by Lord Hardinge, produced the explosion. The sepoys were required to bite the end of the cartridge, and in January 1857, reports were made that the cartridges were greased with pigs' and cows' fat. When the authorities heard of it, they rescinded the regulations, and directions were given not to issue greased cartridges. But it was too late. The sepoys believed that it was part of a deep plot to destroy their religion and caste, and at Barrackpore the Adjutant of the 34th Native Infantry was killed. At Meerut the men of the 3rd Cavalry refused the cartridges, and on May 3rd, the 7th Oudh Infantry mutinied at Lucknow. Other places soon followed suit. Massacres of Europeans took place at Jhansi, Delhi, Cawnpore and other places. The movement spread rapidly over the United Provinces, and Delhi became its headquarters. The Panjab remained steadfastly loyal, and contributed materially to the conquest of Delhi and the United Provinces. Delhi was attacked and after a desperate siege, lasting over three months, was captured in September, 1857. This was the first blow struck at the mutineers. At Cawnpore, Nana Sahib committed the wholesale massacre of the Europeans. At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence made a heroic defence, and the British and the loyal Indian troops were shut up in the Residency from July 1 to September 25, 1857. Sir Henry Lawrence died of a shell wound on July 4. Sir Henry Havelock led a mobile column and took terrible revenge on all who had taken part in the massacres.

Cawnpore was soon occupied and the Lucknow garrison was relieved. Reinforcements had now begun to pour in. The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, arranged, in conjunction with Sir Hugh Rose, the great drive which ended the Mutiny. Campbell undertook operations in the North, while Rose worked in Central India. He

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE

defeated the Gwalior rebels and Tantia Topi, and cleared the Cawnpore district. Lucknow was finally captured on March 15, 1858. Rose had, in the meantime, cleared various points in Central India, and arrived before Jhansi, in 1858. The bold Rani of Jhansi made a dashing raid on Gwalior and won the troops of Maharajah Sindhia to her side. Rose soon captured Gwalior and the heroic Rani died fighting with her troops, dressed in male attire. Sir Hugh Rose wrote about her death as follows: 'The

ablest man on the side of the rebels was the woman found dead.' This was practically the end of the Mutiny.

Canning's Policy

Canning had succeeded Dalhousie in 1856, and was immediately afterwards confronted with the task of suppressing the Mutiny. Canning was not a good War Minister, and was dilatory and tardy at a time when swift decisions and prompt execution of orders were necessary. He showed, however, a magnanimous spirit, and set his face against reprisals. For this he gained the name of 'Clemency Canning' among persons who wished to mete out harsh treatment to the Indians.

Consequences of the Mutiny

The doctrine of lapse was at last given up, and the princes were assured of their right to adopt heirs to the throne. This was a substantial gain, as Indian rulers feared that a number of the existing Indian States would disappear. Again, the British began to realize that in making any changes in the Indian administration, the sentiments of the Indian people should be taken into consideration. Another important result of the Mutiny was the abolition of the Company. The latter had really outgrown its usefulness and the Government of India was transferred to the Crown. The Directors disappeared and the Secretary of State for India, with an Advisory Council, took the place of the President of the Board of Control. The Secretary of State is a member of the Cabinet, and is responsible to Parliament for the good government of India. On the assumption of the sovereignty of India, Queen Victoria issued a proclamation to the Indian people, in which she declared that she was bound to her Indian subjects, by the same obligations which bound her to her other subjects. Her Majesty said that she would respect the rights, dignity and honour of Indian princes as her own; that she would tolerate no interference with the religious beliefs of India and that due regard would be paid to ancient rites, usages and

customs. Her Majesty's proclamation created a profound impression, and reassured the Indian princes. It is the Magna Carta of Indian liberties, and Indians of all shades of opinion regard it as the source and foundation of their political rights.

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Draw a Map of India in
Hist Note books & take
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PART V

CHAPTER I

The Government of the Crown in India

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 created legislatures in all provinces. Additional members, not less than six and not more than twelve in number, were added to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General. At least half of these members were to be non-officials. Another Act of 1861 remodelled the judicial system. Chartered High Courts were established and the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code were promulgated. Indians were eligible for the High Court. The finances were reorganized by an expert economist, James Wilson, who laid the foundation of a sound system of finance. Canning was solicitous for the welfare of peasants and the Rent Act of 1859, which applied to Bihar, Bengal and Agra, aimed at protecting the peasant from arbitrary eviction. The army was also reorganized. The Company's European regiments were amalgamated with the Queen's regiments, and a definite proportion between Indian and European troops was maintained in each of the three Presidency armies. Universities were founded at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857. Canning effected many changes in the Indian administration. He was successful in healing the wounded feelings of all parties, and in establishing peace and order in the country. He carried out with great success the policy of peace, retrenchment and reform.

Legislative changes

Lord Canning had solved the problems of the pacification after the Mutiny with great success. His patience,

industry, and tact smoothed over many difficulties and he healed the sore by his never-failing kindness, and magnanimous spirit. The Europeans in Calcutta subjected him to coarse abuse, and pursued him with taunts and gibes. But he refused to be moved from the path of justice, and restrained the harsh proposals of irresponsible individuals. At last, public opinion rallied round him, and his policy received striking tributes from all quarters.

Lord Elgin took over charge from Canning in March, 1862. The only noticeable event of this period was the Umbeyla campaign against Muslim fanatics in the north-west of India. The campaign was not conducted with vigour, and the expedition met with stout resistance. Elgin died in November 1863 of heart disease.

Sir John Lawrence

Sir John Lawrence pursued a peaceful policy, and his administration is noticeable for the commencement of great expenditure on public works. Railways were developed, Canals were built, and roads were improved. A department of Forests was organized, and attention was bestowed on the preservation of the forest resources of India. Lawrence was interested in the well-being of the peasants, and took a deep interest in all schemes that tended to improve their lot. He was successful in passing a measure for the under-proprietors and tenants of Oudh, and a bill was also drafted for the Panjab.

The Orissa Famine

The famine and floods of Orissa, 1865–6, caused a mortality of over a million lives, and the loss of crops estimated at three million pounds sterling. Famine conditions existed along the entire Eastern coast, from Calcutta to Madras, and several districts in the Madras Presidency suffered severely. The Madras Government acted with vigour, and made effective arrangements in the affected districts. On the other hand, the Bengal Government and the Government

of India failed miserably. The Bengal Government relied for help on private enterprise, and adopted the policy of non-interference. This policy is all right when communications are good, and stocks have not been depleted. Sir John Lawrence did not display resource or energy in preventing the misery and sufferings of the people. The people were relieved of their sufferings, but they required more assistance than the government could render. The arrangements made by the government were insufficient.

At this time, the Civil War was raging in the United States of America and Manchester's supply of cotton was cut off. This gave a fillip to Indian cotton and for a time there was an extraordinary boom. After the end of the Civil War, Bombay used the cotton, then no longer required by Manchester, in her own modern mills, and Indian industries now progressed.

Sir John Lawrence took a keen interest in the North-West Frontier and though there were occasional outbreaks, he kept the unruly tribesmen under control.

Sir John Lawrence's Foreign policy

Dost Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Afghanistan, died in 1863, and a conflict took place among his descendants for the throne. Lawrence kept himself clear of these domestic quarrels. He was prepared to salute the victor, but would not back up the claims of any pretender to the throne. The Russian frontiers had by this time advanced to Bokhara and Khiva and Turkistan had just been brought under control. Lawrence warmly supported the policy of an understanding with Russia, and kept on very good terms with the ruling Amir of Afghanistan, Sher Ali, but he refused to bind the Government of India by any treaty.

Lawrence's Governor-Generalship was not a success. He did not maintain the dignity of his office, and he could not shake off the habits of the Panjab officials of old days. He was accustomed to the performance of routine

and stereotyped duties, and could not adapt himself to the changed environment. He lacked vision and imagination.

Mayo's Governor-Generalship is chiefly remarkable for the establishment of a sound financial system. The budget of his predecessor was a deficit budget, and Mayo was determined to evolve a sound system. He raised the income tax and enhanced the salt-tax. Up to this time, no clear principle had been recognized regarding the grants to local governments. Under the new system, each provincial government was given a fixed annual grant settled for five years at a time, and local governments were given comparative freedom to spend it as they liked. This encouraged the local governments to arrange effective management, while it acted as a stimulus, and induced them to increase their resources. In the Government of India economies were effected in several departments. Mayo paid great attention to the working of every department in order to secure efficiency. As a result of these reforms, India enjoyed a surplus, and her finances were placed on a sound basis. Lord Mayo was murdered by a Pathan fanatic, in February 1872, while inspecting the convict settlement in the Andaman Islands. His death was universally regretted.

Lord Mayo (1869-72)

Lord Northbrook assumed charge of his office in 1872. He was a member of the financial house of Baring, and displayed a keen interest in all questions of finance. In his time, the country enjoyed peace, and her material prosperity increased appreciably. Northbrook came into conflict with the home authorities over a delicate question. The Indian Tariff imposed an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent on all imports and three per cent on a number of exports. Sir John Lawrence had reduced the import duties to seven and a half per cent and Northbrook reduced it still further, to five per cent. Moreover, he abolished the

Lord Northbrook

majority of export duties, including the duty on wheat. He was persistently asked to abolish the five per cent duty on Manchester cotton goods, but he remained firm, as the country could not afford to lose such a big revenue. Lord Salisbury urged upon him the need for abolition, but Northbrook was adamant, and bravely carried out his just policy.

North-brook and Afghan-istan

Northbrook followed Lawrence's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. But Russia continued to advance, and Sher Ali became uneasy. He said that he must know where he stood, otherwise he would be hemmed in between the two great powers. He asked for close treaty relations with the British, and Northbrook was so convinced of the danger to Sher Ali from the growing power of Russia that he asked permission to help the Amir. But the Liberal government turned a deaf ear to these proposals. Soon after, the Conservative government came into power, and Lord Salisbury, who was at that time Secretary of State for India, approved of the proposed treaty with Afghanistan, and agreed to support the Amir and defend Afghanistan, but insisted that the Amir should receive a British Resident at his court. Northbrook and his Council disagreed with this policy and as Salisbury stood firm, Northbrook resigned.

Lord Lytton

Lytton succeeded Northbrook in 1876. The Conservative Government seemed determined on following a forward policy in Afghanistan, and Lytton came to India with definite instructions to conclude an alliance with Sher Ali. Sher Ali was quite willing to conclude a treaty, but he knew that the Afghans would strongly object to the presence of a British Resident at their Court, and he therefore hesitated. Lytton was impetuous, and imperious, and tried to carry matters with a high hand. Such an attitude on the part of the Governor-General frightened the Amir, and he became suspicious of British designs in Afghanistan.

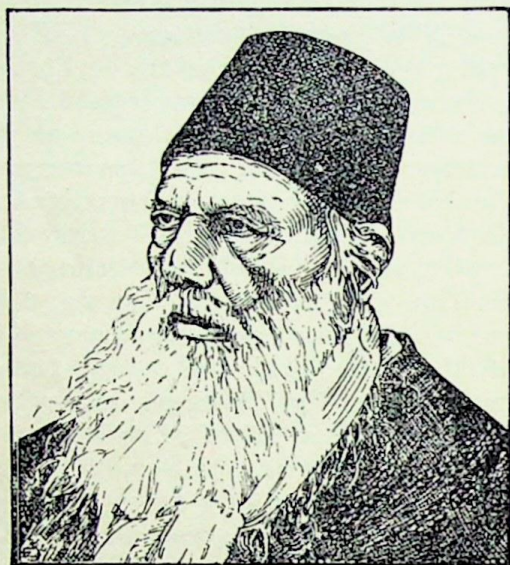
These suspicions were confirmed by the occupation of Quetta and Gilgit by the British. The solution was complicated by the outbreak of war in Europe. Servia and Montenegro rebelled against Turkey in 1876. Russia lent her support, and in 1877 she declared war against Turkey. The Russian forces crossed the Balkans in 1878, and marched upon Constantinople. The British were indignant, and Turkey found general support among Englishmen. Disraeli, in January 1878, ordered a fleet to the Dardanelles, to protect the Turkish capital, and summoned Indian troops to Malta. These vigorous measures surprised the Russians, and they hastened to conclude a most advantageous treaty with the Turks. Disraeli remained firm and succeeded in modifying it at the Berlin Congress of 1878. Russia was baulked but she revenged herself by concentrating her energies on the North-Western frontier of India. She pushed on with feverish haste, and an envoy was deputed to Kabul. Sher Ali was in a difficult position. He did not like the Russians, but he could not ally himself with the Indian Government. The situation might have been improved by a little tact, but Lytton's impetuosity spoiled everything. He despatched Sir Neville Chamberlain and a mission to Kabul through the Khyber Pass. The Afghans refused them permission to proceed. Lytton regarded it as an insult and declared war. The British troops at first carried all before them. Their progress was not checked, and Sher Ali left Kabul to take refuge in Turkistan. He died on the way. Yakub Khan, his eldest son, was recognized as Amir, and a treaty was made at Gandamak, which placed Afghan foreign relations under British control, and allowed the Government of India to station agents at such places as they might select. Afghanistan has always been easy to invade but difficult to occupy. The truth of this maxim had been borne out in the First Afghan war. It was again illustrated in this war. A riot broke out in September and the envoy and his escort

were murdered. The Amir found himself helpless, and surrendered to the British. Lytton thereupon decided to detach Kandahar, and give it to an independent Chief. At this period the Liberal government came into office, and Lytton immediately resigned and was succeeded by Lord Ripon. Ripon was instructed to bring about a settlement as quickly as possible. In June 1880, a British force was routed at Maiwand near Kandahar. General Roberts then undertook his remarkable march to Kandahar, and inflicted a terrible defeat on the foe. Lord Ripon saw the futility of detaching Kandahar from Afghanistan and he therefore recognized Abdur Rahman, as the ruler of Kabul, Kandahar and Herat. British troops were withdrawn and only a few places necessary for the command of the Bolan Pass were retained. Abdur Rahman proved a vigorous ruler, and subdued the whole country in a brief period. The Second Afghan War was a blunder and was due partly to the forward policy advocated by Disraeli, and partly to the inexperience and incompetence of Lytton.

The Second Afghan War

Lytton was more successful in the internal administration of India. Between 1876 and 1878, Mysore, the Deccan and a large part of Madras and Bombay were visited by a terrible famine. Cholera and fever took a heavy toll. The Government adopted vigorous measures and spent eleven million pounds on famine relief. In spite of all these efforts, the number of deaths was alarming. Lytton worked splendidly, and urged the local governments to adopt effective measures for relief. He appointed a Famine Commission, which formulated comprehensive proposals for the grant of relief. A Famine Insurance Fund was established and a part of the surplus of each year was to be allotted to this fund. Lytton abolished the clumsy arrangements that existed at that time for the control of the transit of salt and sugar. Local Governments were now allowed a share of their revenues and this encouraged them to make greater efforts for economy

and efficiency. The Viceroy was obliged to pass a Vernacular Press Act in 1878, whereby the freedom of the press was restricted. Lytton gave enthusiastic support to Sir Saiyad Ahmad Khan's new Anglo-Oriental College (which is now the Muslim University) at Aligarh.

Lord Lytton was eminently successful in his administration and deserves great credit for launching several useful schemes of reform. But he mismanaged the Afghan War,

SIR SAIYAD AHMAD KHAN

which cost India a large amount of money, and seriously affected her finances.

Lord Ripon

Lord Ripon was in hearty sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians, and he tried to help them in many ways. By this time, there had grown up an enterprising, pushing and intelligent educated middle class, which modelled its ideas and ideals upon the democratic principles and policy of Europe. It longed to take a share in the administration

of India; it desired equality of status, and equality of opportunity, but found itself excluded from all high offices, and deprived of all opportunities for advancement.

Lord Ripon tried to satisfy the desire of educated Indians by passing a series of Acts in 1883–85, which introduced reforms in local self-government.

Lord Ripon and Local Self-Government

These were based on the creation of District Boards and subordinate bodies and were modelled on the English system of County Councils, and Rural District Boards. The Municipal Boards were given greater powers. Lord Ripon desired non-official members to preponderate, and introduced the principle of election. The Chairmen of the Boards, like the Chairmen of Municipalities, were to be, as far as possible, elected. Again, official control was to be restricted and the new bodies were to be allowed freedom in the management of their affairs subject to supervision by the local government. The provincial governments retained the power of setting aside their proceedings, and of suspending them altogether in case they neglected their duty.

Under Lord Ripon, the number of primary and secondary schools was increased, and education of all grades was developed.

According to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, a European British subject outside the towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, could only be tried by a European Magistrate. Lord Ripon wished to abolish this racial distinction, and Sir Courtenay Ilbert prepared a Bill, with this object. The Europeans in India protested violently against it and subjected the Viceroy to severe criticism. They organized an agitation against it throughout India, and so serious did the situation become, that Lord Ripon was obliged to modify his proposal, and make it acceptable to Europeans. It was decided that every European subject brought before a magistrate could claim to be tried by

The Ilbert Bill

a jury, half of whom were to be Europeans or Americans. An Indian could not make a similar claim. Hence the invidious distinction remained. Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act of Lytton. He maintained cordial relations with Indian States, and Mysore was restored in 1881. This was done in fulfilment of the promise of the Government in 1867 to restore the Maharajah of Mysore to power when he should come of age.

Lord Ripon's Achievement

Lord Ripon resigned office in 1884, and was succeeded by Lord Dufferin. He was very popular among all classes of Indians, and his fearless independence and genuine sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians, made him loved by all classes, and all creeds in India. He developed local self-government, gave freedom to the press, and fought heroically against all distinctions based on colour and race.

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1857	The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny.		
1857	Universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.		
1858	Government of India Act.		
1858	Queen's Proclamation; Rent Act of 1859.	1859	War of Italian Liberation.
1860	Enactment of the Indian Penal Code.		
1861	Indian High Courts established; Act of 1861, reorganizing the legislatures.	1861	Victor Immanuel, King of Italy; Italian Independence.
		1861–64	American Civil War.
1862	Lord Elgin, Governor-General.	1862	Bismarck becomes Prime Minister of Germany.

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1864	Sir John Lawrence.		
		1866	Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia.
1865–67	Orissa Famine.		
		1867	The Second Reform Act in England.
		1868	Gladstone, Prime Minister in England.
1869	Lord Mayo.		
1869	The Umballa interview of Mayo with Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan.		
		1870	Outbreak of Franco-German War; fall of the Second French Empire; the Third Republic.
		1871	Proclamation of the German Empire.
1872	Murder of Lord Mayo; Lord Northbrook.		
1873–74	Famine in Bihar.	1874	Fall of the Gladstone Ministry; Disraeli Ministry.
1875–76	Tour of the Prince of Wales.		
1876	Resignation of Lord Northbrook; Lord Lytton.		
		1877	Russia declares war against Turkey.
1878	Vernacular Press Act.	1878	Treaty of Berlin.
1879–80	Second Afghan War.		

CHAPTER II

Constitutional Development

Lord Dufferin succeeded Lord Ripon in 1884, and distinguished himself as a most brilliant Viceroy. His personal charm, remarkable eloquence, and varied experience, eminently fitted him for his high office. He was a great diplomat and a great statesman.

The Panjdeh Incident

The advance of Russia towards Afghanistan continued unchecked till 1885, when a Russian force came into contact with the Afghan outposts at Panjdeh. The Russians then asked the Afghans to withdraw, and on the Afghans refusing, a sharp action followed. The Afghans were defeated, and Panjdeh was annexed to the Russian Empire. The English people were greatly excited by the high-handed action of the Russians, and England made preparation for war. But the war scare passed off; Dufferin reassured the English Government, a boundary commission settled the points at issue, the frontier was fixed up to the Oxus river, and Russia was prevented from advancing in the direction of Herat. In these negotiations, Lord Dufferin by his tact and shrewdness, smoothed over many difficulties. Amir Abdur Rahman became a firm friend of the British, and Afghans were not compelled to admit English officers into their country.

Burma

King Theebaw intrigued with the French at a time when the Government was occupied with affairs in Afghanistan, and concluded a treaty in 1885, by which the French were given very valuable commercial privileges. The Indian Government could not allow the establishment of French influence in Burma. The imposition of an enormous fine of twenty-

three lakhs of rupees on the Bombay and Burma Trading Company greatly handicapped British commerce with Burma. Dufferin demanded the settlement of all the outstanding disputes, and on receiving an evasive reply declared war. No serious opposition was encountered, and Theebaw surrendered in two weeks. Soon after Mandalay was occupied and Upper Burma was annexed. A guerilla war however soon broke out and robber bands gave a good deal of trouble. The resistance lasted five years, and at the time about 30,000 regular troops were employed to suppress it.

Lord Dufferin restored the Gwalior fort and Morar to the Maharajah Sindhia, in 1886, and accepted the town of Jhansi in exchange. This act was greatly appreciated by the people. The Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated, in 1887, at every station and town throughout India.

Tenancy Acts

Lord Dufferin's Government passed three important Acts which bettered the condition of tenants, in three provinces, and protected them from extortionate rents. The Tenancy Act of 1885 aimed at giving the tenants fixity of tenure and fair rents. In Oudh, the tenants-at-will were granted a statutory holding for seven years, with a right to compensation. In the Panjab the Act of 1887 guaranteed the protected tenants against eviction and enhancement of rent within certain limits. Lord Dufferin retired in 1888. He was one of the most successful Governors-General.

Lord Lansdowne

Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty is chiefly remarkable for steady progress. His Government was responsible for important laws affecting the welfare of the people. He extended the Factory Act of 1881 by limiting the hours of work for women; a minimum age was fixed at which children could be employed in factories, while a weekly holiday was prescribed for all workers in factories. By his Age of Con-

sent Act, the limit within which protection was given to young girls was raised from ten to twelve years.

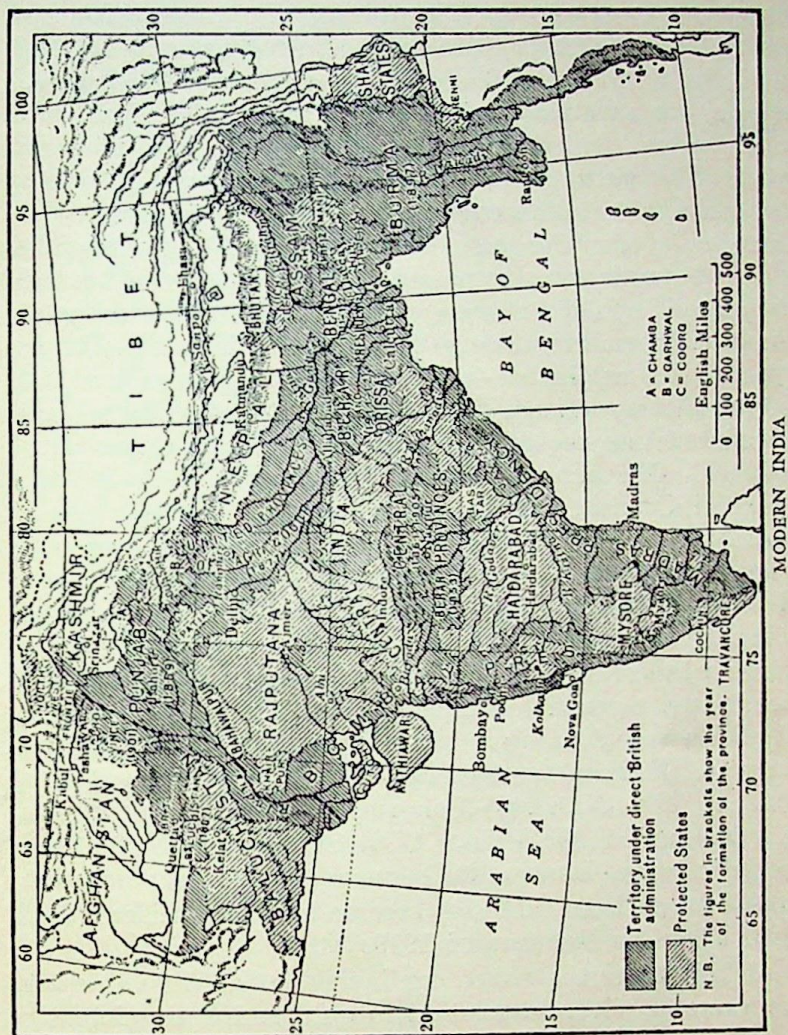
The Frontier

Lord Lansdowne adopted statutory measures for the defence of India. Sir Mortimer Durand was sent on a special mission to Kabul, and succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Amir. The subsidy to the Amir was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs. Two strongholds in the Gilgit Valley, Hansa and Nagar, were occupied.

The Foundation of the National Congress

By this time, the number of Indians who had received western education had greatly increased. Though English was a foreign language, they imbibed the culture of the West with enthusiasm. There were Indians who were in no way inferior in knowledge, ability and character, to Englishmen in any walk of life. Yet the doors of employment were closed to them. They could not occupy high offices in their own country, and the Government passed laws and administered the country, without consulting their wishes. Lord Ripon inaugurated a new period by offering Indians opportunities of administration in the municipal and district boards; he aroused their enthusiasm by championing their cause, and supporting their claims for equality of opportunity. Lord Ripon had laid the foundation of a movement, of whose significance he was not conscious. Indians who had received an English education were brought closer together, and the differences of caste, creed and race began to disappear. The agitation over the Ilbert Bill made them conscious of the need for union. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded. This was due very largely to the support of Mr. A. O. Hume to whom India owes a debt of gratitude for helping her at a critical time. The Indian National Congress was materially helped in its early struggles by a band of devoted Englishmen, who worked for it without reward. The Congress desired from the first an increase in the number of Indians in the highly-paid

services, and insisted on political reforms for India. It asked for the application of those principles of demo-

cracy with which university education had made them familiar. For the first time in the history of India, persons belonging to different races and creeds were brought

together by a common bond. The development of railways facilitated this process of unification while the English language served as an excellent means of communication of their ideas. The authorities were at first benevolent, and Lord Dufferin gave it his cautious approval. He seems, however, to have modified his views later on, and officials began to look with suspicion on the activities of the new body. The work of the Congress continued and meetings were held at different places, nearly every year. The struggles of the Congress bore fruit in 1892, when the Indian Councils Act was passed. By this Act, the Central and Local Legislatures were enlarged, and the number of non-official members was greatly increased. The non-officials were to be nominated by commercial, professional and territorial associations. The elective principle was first introduced into the legislatures and their functions were widened. The annual budgets were now laid before the Imperial Council, and the members were allowed to ask questions. A Public Services Commission had been appointed in 1886-7. It recommended the establishment of three cadres in all Government services, the highest being the Imperial Service, the next the Provincial Service, and the lowest the Subordinate Service. These recommendations perpetuated an invidious distinction between Englishmen and Indians. Nearly all the posts in the Imperial Service were occupied by Englishmen at this time. The National Congress demanded that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held in India. The House of Commons passed a resolution to this effect, but it did not become an accomplished fact until after the Reforms of 1919.

The Indian Currency and Tariff

At this time, the rupee continued to fall in value, as the value of silver in relation to gold had been violently disturbed. As the Government of India had to make large payments to England for various purposes, they had to pay many more rupees in England than they did before, and

European officials and others who made payments in England also suffered greatly. The Indian finances were therefore disorganized. In 1893, the Government closed the mints against the free coinage of silver, and admitted gold as legal tender. By this means, the rate of exchange was steadied, and the exchange value of the rupee remained at one shilling and four pence. The Indian Government reimposed the old general duty of five per cent on all imports, but, influenced by the Home Government, they exempted cotton goods from the import rate. India was deprived of a certain amount of revenue, and Lancashire goods competed most unfairly with Indian goods. That was not all. The Home Government compelled the Government of India to set off the five per cent duty on Lancashire goods by imposing a countervailing excise duty calculated at the same rate. In 1896, both the import and excise duties were reduced to 3½ per cent. These measures were very unpopular, and were bitterly opposed by Indians. They checked the growth of the Indian industry; they protected the Manchester goods at the expense of Indian products, and they deprived India of a large amount of revenue.

Lord Elgin II

Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who did not possess exceptional ability, and was endowed with but slight qualifications for his task. In his time, the frontier of the two empires in the Pamirs was settled and expeditions were sent to Chitral and Tirah to chastise the tribesmen.

Plague and famine

In the latter part of Lord Elgin's viceroyalty, plague and famine destroyed many people. The plague made its appearance in Bombay in 1896 and soon spread to every part of India. In 1896–7, a severe famine occurred in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, and the Hissar district in the Panjab. Sir Antony Macdonnell, then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, successfully adopted relief measures. A commission under Sir James

Plague

Lyall discussed various measures for the prevention and relief of famine, in 1898. Nearly seventy million people were affected by the famine.

Dates	Events in Indian History.	Dates	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1880	Lord Ripon, Viceroy; March of Roberts to Kandahar.		
1882	Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act.		
1883–84	Ilbert Bill Controversy.	1880–85	Second Gladstone Ministry.
1883–85	Local Self-Government Acts.		
1884	Lord Dufferin, Viceroy.		
1884	Third Burmese War, Panjdeh incident.		
1885–87	Tenancy Acts.		
1885	Indian National Congress founded.	1885	Third Gladstone Ministry.
1886	Annexation of Upper Burma.		
1886–87	Public Services Commission.	1886–93	Salisbury, Prime Minister.
1888	Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy.		
1893	Currency Reform; Tariff Reform.	1893	Fourth Gladstone Ministry
1894	Lord Elgin II, Viceroy.	1894	Lord Rosebery, Prime Minister.
1895	Chitral Expedition.		
1897	Tirah Expedition.		

CHAPTER III

Political Progress, 1898-1919

Lord Curzon's viceroyalty ushered in a new era in India. The Indian people had been so far quiet, submissive and docile. From his time dates that fight for political reform and self-government which is still going on in India. Curzon came thoroughly equipped for his task. He had

Lord Curzon

VISCOUNT CURZON

spent a year at the India Office, and three years at the Foreign Office, in England. He had visited India four

times, and had travelled widely on its borders. In addition to these gifts, Lord Curzon possessed, in an eminent degree, eloquence, style, industry and imagination. He was one of the most brilliant men of his age, and his untiring energy, and extraordinary industry, left a mark on many spheres of activity.

The famine of 1900

Soon after his arrival in India, Lord Curzon was confronted by a formidable famine which devastated the province of Gujarat. He worked with great devotion, and adopted very useful measures. A Famine Commission under Sir Antony Macdonnell in 1901 reported that relief had been given generously and even lavishly.

Afghan affairs

Amir Abdur Rahman died in 1901, and was succeeded by his son, Habibullah. Lord Curzon cultivated friendly relations with the new Amir, and conceded to him the title of His Majesty.

Tibetan expedition, 1903-4

Tibet was at this time in communication with Russia, and a Russian agent was received at Lhasa. Lord Curzon wished to counteract their influence, and he persuaded the Home Government to sanction a mission to Tibet. The English expedition reached Lhasa and returned soon after. The Tibetans paid a small indemnity, and the suzerainty of China over Tibet was confirmed.

The North-West Frontier Province

The Government of India found it difficult to manage tribes to the north of Sind, and in 1901, the North-West Frontier Province was created, presided over by a Chief Commissioner at Peshawar, and directly responsible to the Government of India. The reform was long overdue, and the Panjab Government, which had administered that tract so far, was glad to be relieved of the responsibility.

Berar

Lord Curzon settled a long-standing dispute with the Nizam concerning Berar, by a personal interview, in 1902. The Government of India acquired a perpetual lease of Berar, which was attached

as a Division to the Central Provinces. This was modified to a certain extent by the new agreement with His Exalted Highness the Nizam, whereby the Nizam has been guaranteed certain marks of sovereignty, such as the flying of the Nizam's flag over public buildings in Berar. The heir to the throne of Hyderabad will be styled, His Highness the Prince of Berar. The Nizam's Agent will also reside in the capital of the Province.

Land Alienation Act of 1900

The Land Alienation Act aimed at keeping the land in the hands of agricultural tribes, and by this Act, the sale of land to the excluded classes under decree of court is forbidden. The classes excluded are generally money-lenders, shop-keepers, and professional classes, who cannot buy from hereditary cultivators or hold such land on mortgage for more than twenty years without the consent of the State.

The Universities' Act of 1904

The Universities' Act aroused violent agitation in Bengal. It reduced the excessive number of members of the Senates of Indian Universities, reformed the constitution of the syndicates and executive bodies, provided for official inspection of colleges and placed in the hands of the Government of India the final decision concerning the affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges. The critics complained that the object of the Act was to stifle University study, to officialize University bodies and to keep Indians ignorant and submissive.

Partition of Bengal

Lord Curzon constituted a new province, called the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, by abolishing the Chief Commissionership of Assam and detaching the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi from Bengal. He advocated the measure on administrative grounds. The Province was too unwieldy, and it was impossible for a Lieutenant Governor to administer a territory of 189,000 square miles, with a population of seventy-eight millions.

Moreover, Eastern Bengal was neglected, financially starved, and presented a most astounding record of crime. This measure roused violent agitation throughout India. The Indian nationalists thought that it aimed at destroying nationalism and stifling all agitation for political progress in India. Meetings were organized all over the country; the Government was subjected to severe attacks in the press, on the platform, and in the legislature. Serious crimes were committed in support of the agitation, and some European and Indian officials were murdered.

Preservation of Indian Antiquities

Lord Curzon was a great admirer of Oriental learning, and Eastern art, and he displayed much interest in the preservation of antiquities. He promised, in 1900, 'to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasurehouse of art and learning that has, for a few years, at any rate, been committed to my charge.' The promise was nobly redeemed. The Ancient Monuments Act protected the ancient monuments of India and provided for their preservation. A Department of Archaeology was founded for this purpose. Lord Curzon also appointed Irrigation and Police Commissions. The Irrigation Commission laid down a comprehensive irrigation policy, and its recommendations were followed by the local governments.

Curzon's resignation

Lord Curzon resigned owing to a difference of opinion with Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief. Kitchener objected to the arrangements under which the Commander-in-Chief was overruled by the Military member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He gained his point, and the Commander-in-Chief became the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council. Thereupon Lord Curzon resigned, and Lord Minto (1905–10) succeeded him.

Though Lord Curzon was active, energetic, able and intelligent, he was not popular. His partition of

Bengal was strongly opposed by the people, while his Universities' Act was bitterly attacked by the educated classes. He tried to do too much, and did not take into consideration the sentiments and wishes of the Indian people.

Lord Curzon as Viceroy

Lord Minto's Viceroyalty was marked by a period of grave unrest. Bombs were thrown at officials, secret societies were started, while newspapers violently attacked the Government. Lord Minto tried to crush anarchical outbreaks by repressive laws, and won the support of the moderates by his conciliatory measures. He used an old Act of 1818, and deported dangerous agitators without assigning any reason. He also passed the Explosives Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The last Act provided that certain crimes should be submitted to a private magisterial inquiry, whilst the perpetrators were to stand their trial before three judges of the High Court without a jury.

Lord Minto

Whilst Lord Minto passed laws for the suppression of disorder, he was aware that agitation could be allayed only by allying himself with the law-abiding Indians of the educated class. At this time, the Liberal Government had come into power, and Lord Morley, a well-known Liberal leader, was Secretary of State for India. Minto and Morley co-operated heartily in the framing of a Bill for the reform of the Indian Councils. By the Indian Councils Act of 1909, the membership of the Imperial Legislative Council was raised from twenty-one to a maximum of sixty, while the Provincial Legislative Councils were more than doubled. There was an official majority in the Imperial Council; but in the Provincial Councils, non-officials had the majority. Again, the Councils enjoyed greater powers, and could criticize and influence the Government. For the first time Indians were appointed members of the Viceroy's Council and of

Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909

the Executive Councils of Madras and Bombay, while the Council of the Secretary of State for India also contained two Indians. Minority communities were given representation, and provision was made for the representation of other classes.

The National Congress had now become the focus of national life. It voiced the feelings of educated India, and exercised great influence on the Government. Moreover, it produced a band of self-less workers whose ability, character, and knowledge marked them out for the highest offices in their own country. Mr. Gokhale exercised great influence on the moderate section, and his acute criticism of the Government led to many beneficial reforms. The moderate section aimed at steady, constitutional, and peaceful agitation. It distrusted violence; it opposed crime; and it condemned the employment of physical force for the attainment of the objects of the Congress. The extremist section, however, regarded this policy as cowardly. They said that India could attain her object only by employing violent methods. Maharashtra in the Bombay Presidency was greatly influenced by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Tilak exercised an extraordinary influence on his followers, and carried on an intense agitation against many of the unpopular measures of the Government, with energy, ability and enterprise. A heated dispute arose between the two sections of the Congress at Surat in 1907. The moderate section kept the control of the National Congress, and guided its activities with conspicuous ability and success. The extremist section, however, continued active in the country and murderous attacks were made on officers of the Government. To meet this, special laws were passed by Lord Minto.

Lord Hardinge was very popular in India. He won over his opponents by his sympathy, his kindness and his advocacy of the Indian cause in South Africa. Their Majesties The King and Queen paid a visit to India in

1911, and held a magnificent Durbar at which most of the Indian princes and high officials were present. This was the first time that a king of England had visited India. The visit evoked a remarkable outburst of loyalty to the throne and made a deep impression on all classes of Indians. His Majesty revoked the partition of Bengal and transferred the capital of India to Delhi. An annual grant of fifty lakhs was promised for educational purposes. Lord Hardinge strongly backed the cause of Indians in South Africa, and warmly advocated their claims for equality of treatment in that country.

Lord Hardinge (1910-16)

In 1914, the Great War broke out and India took an important part in it. She helped the British with men, money and materials. When the war started, India had an army of 80,000 Europeans, and 170,000 Indians. During the war period, India recruited no less than 985,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants. She also paid the normal prewar cost of all her troops. Her total military expenditure in the years 1913–19, amounted to 154 million pounds sterling. She also contributed £100 millions sterling to the cost of the war. Besides this, her princes contributed munificently, and their contributions exceeded £6,000,000. Moreover, India supplied 1,874 miles of railway track, about six thousand waggons, 237 locomotives, and 13,000 feet of girders. She also supplied steamers, barges, anchor boats, and ten million cubic feet of timber. Besides this, a large quantity of wheat was exported.

The Great War

The Minto-Morley reforms had not satisfied even the moderate section, and though the leaders remained quiet at the beginning of the war, they began to formulate schemes for the further reform of legislative councils and an increase in the appointment of Indians to high offices. The Muslims had also organized an All-India Muslim League. Both the Muslim and the Hindu leaders drafted a scheme for the future Government of India, which was

Agitation for further Reforms

accepted by the National Congress, as well as the Muslim League in 1916. As the two communities were united, the agitation for self-government acquired a force and importance which it had never possessed before. Moreover, the division between the moderate and the extremist sections came to an end in 1916, when a reunited Congress met at Lucknow.

Lord Chelmsford

Lord Chelmsford's period of viceroyalty was stormy. Mr. Gandhi came into prominence at this time. His saintly character, absolute sincerity, and great simplicity appealed to every section of the Indian people, and he soon acquired an influence on all classes, creeds and races throughout India which has never been surpassed, and rarely, equalled. The Government had, after the expiry of the Defence of India Act, passed the Rowlatt Act, which enabled them to deal expeditiously with anarchical and revolutionary offences by means of extraordinary tribunals. The Bill produced widespread unrest and discontent, and Mr. Gandhi organized a Satyagraha campaign, to prevent its passage into law. Local disturbances occurred at various places, such as Ahmedabad, Viramgam and Nadiad. In the martial Panjab the movement became immensely popular, and there were outbreaks in various places, and for a time the situation was serious between Lahore and Amritsar. Martial Law was proclaimed in the Amritsar and Lahore districts, and was extended to three other districts. Mr. Gandhi soon launched his non-co-operation movement for the purpose of redressing the Panjab wrongs, and solving the Khilafat question. The temporal and spiritual power of the Sultan of Turkey had been considerably weakened after the war, and he had been obliged to cede the holy places of Islam. Against this, a violent agitation was set on foot by the Indian Muslims and Mr. Gandhi, by coupling the Panjab wrongs with the Khilafat question, enlisted the support both of Hindus and Muslims. This rendered it the most

powerful movement of modern India. The Indian National Congress had hitherto been confined to the intelligentsia; but the new movement launched by the Congress was a mass movement. In it the highest and the lowest, the most ignorant as well as the most learned, joined with the zeal of religious reformers. Mr. Gandhi advocated the boycott of the law Courts, the English schools, the English Universities, and foreign cloth. India was convulsed by the movement, and the people were greatly excited and expectant.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms

Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, in August 1917, promised Indians an increasing share in the administration of India. He came to India himself, interviewed many people and discussed with the Viceroy a plan for the Government of India. The results of these discussions were published, in 1918, in a report, called the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. A Bill based mainly on the recommendations of this Report was brought in and passed into law, under the title of the Government of India Act of 1919. According to this scheme, the control of the Secretary of State for India in Indian affairs was restricted; and the number of Indians in the Viceroy's Council was increased. The Central Legislature was to consist of two houses, the Assembly and the Council of State. A majority of members of both houses are non-officials, and are elected by general and special constituencies. The Provincial Government was to be dyarchical. It was to consist of two parts, the Governor and members of his Council, and Ministers. The subjects were also divided. Transferred subjects were placed in charge of Ministers, while Reserved subjects were placed in charge of Members of the Council. The Provincial Councils contained a substantial majority of non-official members, and possessed wide powers over transferred subjects. The Ministers are responsible to the Legislative Council, while the Executive Councillors are appointed by the Crown.

CHAPTER IV

New India

The Third Afghan War, 1919

Lord Chelmsford was also called upon to deal with the Afghan situation. The problem of the North Western Frontier had always been a serious one for India. During the British period it was not only the strength and weakness of Afghanistan and India that determined their relations. The new factor introduced was the situation in Europe. The English people were always on their guard, lest some first-rate European power should challenge the British possessions in India through the North Western Frontier. When the Great War broke out in 1914 Turkey also participated in it. In the beginning of the war Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan declared that he would observe strict neutrality. He was a wise and far-sighted ruler, and kept his promise. He remained a friend of the British Government. Though he received many Austrian, German and Turkish "missions" during the five momentous years of the Great War he never broke his promise. He was an enlightened ruler who gave his country peace and security. He was unfortunately murdered on the 20th February, 1919. His successor, King Amanullah, imprudently declared war against the British Government.

On the 25th of April 1919, troops began to move; anti-British propaganda and intrigues with the Frontier tribes commenced. In the war the Afghans were bound to lose against the British who possessed aeroplanes, and were equipped with new and formidable weapons of war.

Within a month the British Indian armies had defeated the Afghans at Jelalabad, and captured Dakka.

The Afghans began to sue for peace, and a treaty was signed at Rawalpindi. By this the importation of arms and ammunition to Afghanistan through India was stopped. The subsidy was discontinued. The settlement of other matters of common interest was referred to a conference to be held after six months. After negotiations the two parties entered into a treaty in 1921, by which friendly relations were established between them and the importation of arms through British India was allowed. Thus ended the unfortunate conflict between the two countries.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and Indian opinion

The viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford will always be remembered for constitutional advance. The reforms introduced into India according to the 1919 Government of India Act did not actually come into operation till 1921, when the term of the viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford came to an end. Yet it is necessary to understand the atmosphere in which the reforms were worked. On the eve of the introduction of reforms, there were two strong organized parties in India. One was the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885; and the other was the Muslim League founded in 1906. These two parties sank their differences and signed a pact in 1916. Both were eager to follow a national policy. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was received with mixed feelings in India. The extremists in the Congress at once declared it to be wholly inadequate and disappointing. They maintained that the Central Government was to remain irresponsible to the legislature, and stated that in the provinces also no real responsibility had been conceded to the Indians. The ministers could keep their office with the help of the nominated block even if a majority of the elected members did not approve of their policy. Moreover, as the funds at the disposal of the ministers were inadequate, it would

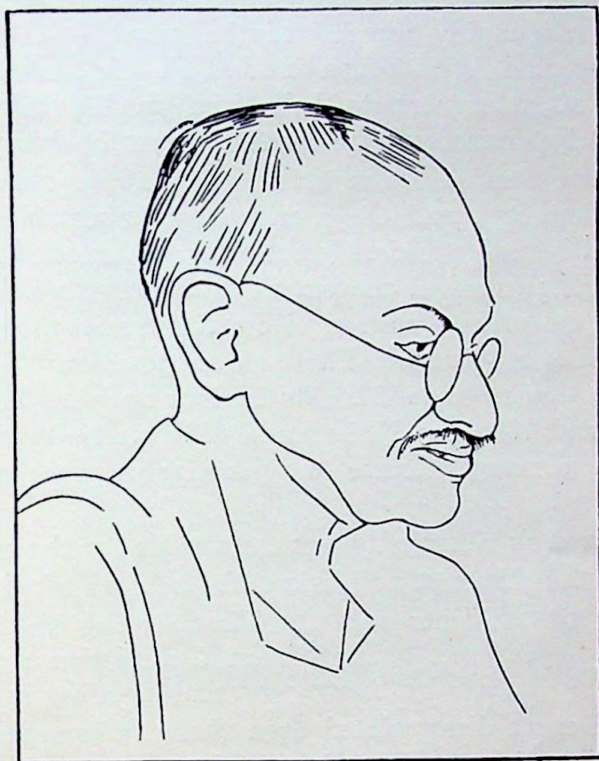
not be possible for them to improve the administration of their departments. In addition to these drawbacks, the Viceroy and the Governors were armed with extraordinary powers. On these grounds they proclaimed their disagreement and their resolve to continue their opposition. The moderates in the Congress, however, thought that they could do some good to the country, and were prepared to work the reforms. They broke away from the Congress and set up the National Liberal Federation under the leadership of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee.

Thus the new Reforms scheme did not begin in an atmosphere of co-operation. Efforts were not spared to enlist Indian co-operation; and in 1921 on the occasion of his visit to open the new councils, the Duke of Connaught made a touching appeal for friendliness. He said, "Since my landing I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all—British and Indians—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands, and to work together, to realize the hopes that arise from to-day."

Lord Reading (1921-1926)

Lord Reading had been Lord Chief Justice of England and during the Great War had shown his tact and diplomatic skill in carrying through many important negotiations with the United States of America. His legal knowledge and tact were expected to bring him success in the discharge of his duties as a Viceroy. The situation, when he assumed the reins of his office, was very critical. India was suffering from a wave of economic depression, the result of the Great War; and some unfortunate incidents in the Panjab, coupled with the bad treatment meted out to Turkey after her defeat by the Allies, produced the non-co-operation movement, which was joined by a large number of Hindus and Muslims. The Viceroy had also to set the new Reforms scheme in motion.

The Indian National Congress Party was against the Reforms and had decided to wreck the new constitution. The Liberal Party, though dissatisfied with the Reforms scheme, was prepared to use the new constitution for what it was worth. The Muslim League had been thrown into the background, and its place had been taken by the Khilafat Committee.

Parties

MAHATMA GANDHI

The most powerful and influential man at this time, whose influence counted far more than any others, was Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi's austere life, his piety, and the sacrifices he had

Gandhi

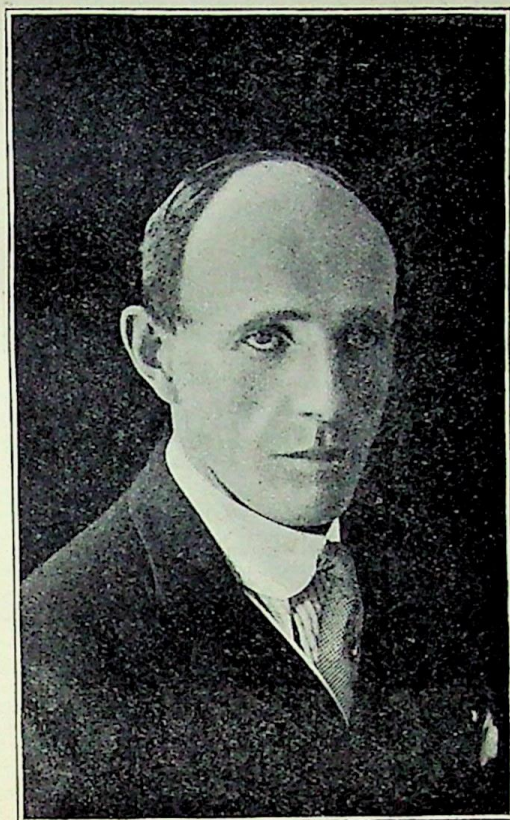
made for his people in India and South Africa endeared him to persons of all communities. He toured through every part of India, and his personality had a wonderful hold on the masses. He opposed the Reforms scheme as inadequate, and urged Indians to strive for a simpler and nobler life. He appealed to the noble traditions and simple piety of our ancestors. He wished to improve the lot of the common people by advocating the use of the charkha, a spinning wheel, and the wearing of khaddar, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. He enrolled a large number of volunteers to help him in his work, and passionately desired the removal of untouchability.

Mahatma Gandhi's wonderful hold on the masses, his saintly character, and the sacrifices of hundreds of Congress and Khilafat leaders greatly strengthened the movement. The political movement had hitherto been confined to the middle classes. Now the masses became its enthusiastic supporters. The non-co-operation movement began to decline in 1923. Its leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Muhammad Ali were imprisoned, and the country became comparatively peaceful soon after.

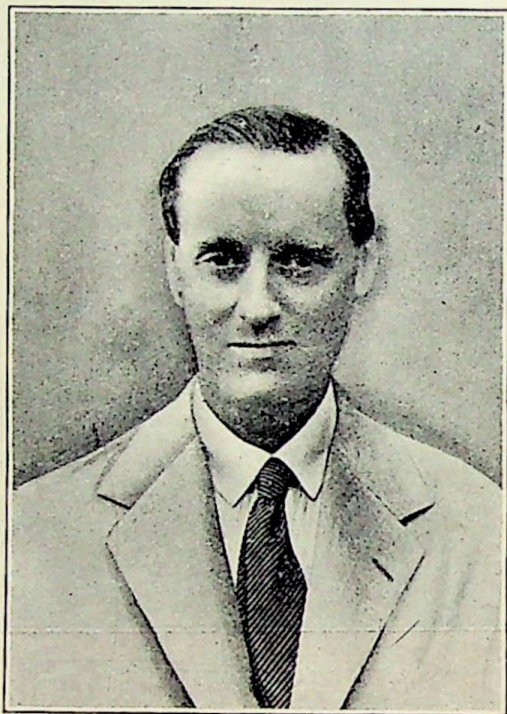
Lord Irwin (1926-1931)

Lord Irwin's viceroyalty was memorable for the appointment of the Simon Commission, the revival of civil disobedience and the First Round Table Conference. The Simon Commission was boycotted by many powerful parties in India and its Report disappointed even those Indians who had co-operated with it. The British Government thereupon convened a Round Table Conference of British and Indian leaders in London, in 1930, to frame a constitution for India. The Congress had revived civil disobedience in the beginning of 1930, and was not represented at the Conference.

Civil disobedience was suspended by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, and Mahatma Gandhi attended the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

LORD IRWIN

Lord Willingdon (1931-1936)

Meanwhile, Lord Irwin had been succeeded by Lord Willingdon, whose viceroyalty ended in April, 1936. In Lord Willingdon's time the Second and Third Round Table Conferences were held in 1931 and 1932 respectively; while in 1933, Indian delegates attended the meetings of the Joint

Select Committee of the British Parliament which had been appointed by the two Houses of Parliament to draft a constitution for India. The results of nearly five years' work on this subject were embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. The Round Table Conferences and the new constitution were, and are, very strongly attacked by many powerful bodies, such as the Congress, and we content ourselves with narrating these events without commenting on the merits or demerits of these schemes.

LORD LINLITHGOW

Lord Willingdon left India on April 18, 1936, and was succeeded by Lord Linlithgow, the present viceroy. He had been chairman of the Commission on Indian Agri-

culture and chairman of the Joint Select Committee of 1933–34. Provincial autonomy under the new constitution will be inaugurated in April 1937, and it is expected that Federation will be introduced in or about 1938. Lord Linlithgow has given great impetus to rural development, and has taken measures to expedite the introduction of Federation in India.

Lord Linlithgow

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1898	Lord Curzon, Viceroy.	1898	Armenian Massacres.
		1899	Boer War.
1900	Famine in Gujarat; Land Alienation Act.		
1901	Death of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan; Amir Habibullah, King of Afghanistan.	1901	Death of Queen Victoria; accession of King Edward VII.
1901	Creation of the N.-W. Frontier Province.		
1903–04	Tibetan Expedition.		
1904	Universities' Act.	1904–05	Russo-Japanese War.
1905	Partition of Bengal; Lord Minto II, Viceroy.		
1909	Indian Councils Act.	1909	Union of South Africa.
1910	Lord Hardinge, Viceroy.	1910	Accession of King George V.
1911	Royal visit; capital transferred to Delhi.		
		1914	Declaration of War by Great Britain against Germany; declaration of War against Turkey.
1916	Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy.		
1917	Pronouncement in Parliament of British policy towards India.		
1918	Montagu-Chelmsford Report; Rowlatt Act	1918	Armistice signed by German plenipotentiaries.

Dates.	Events in Indian History.	Dates.	Events in European History.
A.D.		A.D.	
1919	Indian Reforms Bill passed by Parliament.	1919	Peace Conference in Paris.
1920	Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement; Khilafat Agitation.		
1921	First session of the Reformed Councils; Akali agitation; Moplah outbreak; Lord Reading, Viceroy.	1921	Grant of Home Rule to Ireland.
1921	Opening of New Legislatures.		
		1922	Egyptian independence recognised
		1923	French Occupation of the Ruhr
1924	Reforms Enquiry Committee		
1926	Lord Irwin, Viceroy		
1927	Appointment of the Simon Commission		
	Cape Town Agreement		
1929	Lord Irwin's declaration about Dominion Status.		
1930–32	Round Table Conferences		
1931	Lord Willingdon, Viceroy	1931	Statute of Westminster
		1932–4	Disarmament Conference at Geneva
1933	Publication of the White Paper, and Joint Select Committee.	1933	Germany withdraws from League of Nations.
1935	New Government of India Act	1935	Italian attack on Abyssinia
1936,		1936	Civil War in Spain
Jan. 21.	Death of King-Emperor George V		
April 7	Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy		

CHAPTER V

Indian Administration at the Present Day

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 established a Legislative Council in each Province, with enlarged powers, and in each Council there was a majority of elected members. At the head of the administration is the Governor who is appointed for five years and is vested with certain control over legislation and administration. The Act of 1919 divided the provincial executive into two parts: (1) The Governor, and the members of his Executive Council. The latter were appointed by the Crown, and were not responsible to the legislature, which could not remove them. The number of Executive Councillors varied. In the Presidency Provinces, namely Madras, Bombay and Bengal, there were four Councillors. In other provinces, such as the United Provinces and the Panjab, there were only two. In the executive council of each province, at least one Indian was appointed. (2) The Governor and his ministers, who held charge of such departments as were concerned mainly with the social progress of the Indian people, such as education, agriculture, industries, excise, co-operative credit societies, etc. The ministers were responsible to the Councils, and if they lost its confidence, they were obliged to resign their office. The system of government established in 1919 is known as Dyarchy, as it divided the executive into two parts. There were departments in charge of executive councillors, which were called Reserved Departments. These were the departments of Police, Jails, Justice, Irrigation, Forests, etc. The other part of the executive comprised the Transferred Departments in charge of ministers, who were accountable to the Council. It was

found impossible to keep the administration in water-tight compartments, as every government must act as a unit, and cannot be cut up or divided. Hence in actual practice, ministers and executive councillors worked as a team, and though there was some friction in a few provinces at first, the government machinery on the whole worked smoothly. The Provincial Legislative Councils varied in size, some provinces, such as Madras and Bengal, were large bodies, while others, such as Assam, were small. In all of them, non-officials had a majority. The councils could not deal with subjects of all-India importance such as railways, currency, customs, etc., and were confined to provincial subjects.

Central Government

Under the Act of 1919 the head of the Government of India is the Viceroy or Governor-General who is advised by his Executive Council. He is the representative of the Crown in India, and exercises effective control over the Departments of the Central Government as well as over legislation. He has supervisory powers over the work of the Provincial Governments on certain subjects such as Police, etc. There are various Departments of the Government of India, and each is in charge of a member of the Executive Council. There are three Indian members of the Executive Council at the present time. Members act on their own initiative in all matters of minor importance, but important matters are referred to the Viceroy's Council. The Viceroy is not bound to follow its advice. The Central Legislature is divided into two houses: (1) The Council of State. It consists of sixty members, of whom thirty-three are elected by voters, possessing high property or educational qualifications; and (2) the Legislative Assembly. It consists of 144 members, of whom 103 are elected. The Government of India is not responsible to the Legislature and may refuse to act according to the policy indicated by it. If a Bill is rejected by the Assembly, and the Governor-General certi-

fies that it is essential for the good of the realm, he can refer it to the Council of State and get it passed. Moreover, the Governor-General has the power to veto a Bill which he disapproves, and he can dissolve both the Houses. The Viceroy also possesses considerable power over administration and finance.

Such was the constitution which the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms gave to India. A certain section of the Indian *intelligentsia* decided to work the Act, and ministers were appointed in most provinces. Successful attempts to spread education and improve agriculture were made in certain provinces but the success was not complete and the Act did not realise the expectations of many of its supporters, partly because the ministers were not given adequate funds to carry out their schemes, and partly because no advance had been made in the centre, whereby they could acquire control over the railways, industry and finance. The members of the Government of India were not responsible to the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Assembly rejected the demands of many Departments on various occasions, but they were "restored." Hence, from 1921 onwards, the agitation for Home Rule and Swarajya for India was carried on by various Indian organizations with great persistence and determination. One powerful section, represented by the Indian National Congress, demanded the "substance" of independence for India, while another section represented by Moderates was content with Dominion Status for India, in which India would enjoy the same amount of freedom from external control as is at the present time enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, such as Australia and Canada. The agitation took various forms, and the British Government summoned three Round Table Conferences to frame a constitution for India. An Act was passed in 1935 by the British Parliament by which the constitutions of the Provinces and the Centre were greatly modified.

The Act is very strongly opposed by a large section of Indian nationalists, and the Indian National Congress has launched a campaign against it. Indian Moderates are also dissatisfied, as it falls considerably short of their expectations.

The Act deals both with the Provinces and the Centre. The part of the Act dealing with the Provinces became effective from April 1, 1937.

The new constitution has greatly enlarged the size and powers of the provincial legislatures. For instance, the Bengal Legislative Assembly, or Lower House, will have 250 members, and the United Provinces Legislative Assembly will have 228. It establishes Upper Chambers in Madras, the United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Assam. No province had ever possessed an Upper Chamber before, and few provinces really desired it. Yet, in Bengal there will be a 'Legislative Council' of not less than 63 and not more than 65 members, and in Assam there will be a Council of 22 members. In the United Provinces there is to be a Legislative Council of not less than 58 and not more than 60 members. Moreover, the official *bloc* will disappear from the Lower House altogether, while in the Upper Chamber only a small number will be nominated by the Governor. All the subjects which have hitherto been reserved and were in charge of Executive Councillors will be placed in charge of ministers, who will be responsible to the Legislature for their administration. Hence, the Executive Councillors disappear with effect from April 1, 1937. The province will be administered in future by the Governor, who will be aided by the advice of his ministers. It is expected that there will be homogeneous cabinets, and ministers will follow a uniform policy, and will stand or fall together. The Provinces will enjoy greater freedom from interference by the Centre than they have done in the past, and their powers have been clearly defined in the Constitution Act. The Governor has been vested with extensive power

over the Police Department, while in matters affecting law and order, the services, "backward" tribes, such as the Gonds, and Santhals and Indian States, and in execution of directions issued to him by the Governor-General, he will act "at his discretion," and will not be responsible to any legislature in India. He will have also considerable power over provincial legislation and administration. The rights of Government servants in various grades have been amply safeguarded. Provinces have been given slightly greater control over their finances, and depressed classes get strong representation in Provincial Legislatures. Thus, they will have 30 members each in the Bengal and Madras Lower Houses. The system of separate electorates is maintained and special interests, such as commerce, industry, etc., are given representation. Such is the new scheme in the Provinces. We cannot discuss the merits or demerits of the new scheme, as it is highly controversial, and must confine ourselves to its analysis. The changes introduced by the new Act in the Central Government are far-reaching. So far, the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly have been confined to British India, and the Indian States have had no share in the legislation passed by the Assembly.

The Indian States took no part in the agitations with which India has been convulsed since 1920, though the subjects of some of these States started certain movements based on specific grievances. In legislation and administration the two Indias, British India and Princely India, had maintained their separate existence. Yet they belonged to the same race, professed the same religion, and had many other points of common interest. The new Act unites these two parts in an All-India Federation, and provides for a Federal Legislature, consisting of an Upper and a Lower Chamber. The Indian States have been allotted 125 seats in the Lower House which will contain 375 members, and 104 seats in the Council of State, or Upper House, which will consist of 260 members. British

India will have 250 members in the Lower and 156 in the Upper House. Thus the Indian States will have two-fifths representation in the Upper, and one-third in the Lower House of the Federal Legislature. The seats assigned to British India are distributed among the Provinces, which are further sub-divided according to communities and special interests, such as commerce. Thus there will be a Parliament of India, in which representatives of Indian States will sit side by side with leaders of British India. The Act also places certain departments of the Central Government in the hands of ministers, who will be responsible to the Legislature. If they lose its confidence, they must resign. Certain Departments, namely the Defence, Foreign, Political and Ecclesiastical Departments will not be in charge of ministers, but of Counsellors, who will be appointed by the Governor-General. Thus in the Federal Government a system of dyarchical government will be introduced, and ministers will be responsible to the Legislature while the Counsellors will not be bound by it. The subjects over which ministers will have control are industry, commerce, finance, railways, etc. For each of these subjects, however, safeguards have been devised, and ministers will not have complete freedom to do as they like. In some subjects such as Railways, special bodies have been created which will prevent interference by ministers in details of administration. Over foreign affairs, the army, and the Indian States, the ministers will have no control. Again, the Governor-General has been given wide powers over legislation, administration and finance. Therefore the powers of the Legislature and ministers have been seriously restricted. He has, moreover, special responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, the maintenance of the financial credit of India and other matters. In the sphere of his special responsibility, he is responsible to the Secretary of State for India. The rights of Government servants have been safeguarded,

while protection from discrimination against British manufactures has been guaranteed.

The Act has been attacked in most influential quarters and many parties in India are intensely dissatisfied with it. We cannot discuss its merits or demerits, and have merely analysed its chief features. The part of the Act dealing with the Federal Government has not yet been brought into operation, as it is not yet known how many Indian States will enter the Indian Federation. It is expected that the Federation will be brought into being in 1938. During this interval the Act of 1919 will remain in force in the Central Government, subject to some important changes. The case of the Provinces, however, is different, and provincial autonomy will be introduced with effect from April 1, 1937.

It is important to note that the Indian States will maintain their sovereignty over those subjects which they do not surrender to the Federation. Hence on a number of important subjects they will remain independent of the Federal Government.

District Administration

The constitutional changes of 1919 and 1935 have altered the system of government at the top, but the administration at the bottom has remained largely unaffected. The District is the unit of administration and is presided over by the Collector or District Magistrate. He is responsible for the collection of revenue, maintenance of order and preservation of general peace. He is generally a member of the Indian Civil Service. He is assisted by a number of Deputy Collectors, who are members of the Provincial Civil Service recruited in the province. The Deputy Collectors try revenue and criminal cases besides collecting revenue and doing other duties. The district is divided into Tahsils, each under a Tahsildar who collects revenue and administers criminal justice. Fifty years ago the Collector was the autocrat of the district, supervising every department of State activity. But now, owing to the increase

of work, separate departments have been instituted for services like agriculture, medical relief and sanitation, education, co-operative societies, industry, etc. Nevertheless, the Collector keeps in touch with all these activities, and is in close contact with the Police which, though a separate department now, has to carry out the orders of the District Magistrate in maintaining peace and order.

For the trial of cases in each district there are two kinds of courts, criminal and civil. The head of the district judicial administration is the District Judge who is responsible to the High Court in the discharge of his duties. Criminal cases are tried first by the magistrates and then by the Sessions Judge. But for civil cases, there are separate Civil Courts presided over by Munsifs, Civil Judges and the District Judge. The District Judge is also usually appointed as Sessions Judge of his district to try criminal cases but sometimes more than one district is placed under the same Sessions Judge.

Local Self-Government

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, it has been the policy of the Government to separate purely local matters concerning the administration of a town or a city from the hands of the District Magistrate and to make them over to a Municipal Board composed of non-officials and officials. Gradually the public demand for representation and control over such affairs led to the famous Resolution of Lord Ripon in 1882, by which the members of the Boards were to be elected by the people and their chairman was to be a non-official. This policy was given a further stimulus by the report of the Decentralisation Commission of 1908 which recommended that the municipalities should be given substantial elective majority and be allowed to elect their own chairmen. In 1918 again the Government of India in a Resolution recommended far-reaching changes in their constitution and functions. At present the municipalities all over the country are organised on these lines and every provincial legislature

has passed its own Acts for the purpose. The municipalities in the four cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi are called Corporations, and their chairmen Mayors. In other places they are termed Municipal Boards.

By providing for elective majorities and the election of their own chairmen, a substantial measure of self-government has been given in the municipalities. At a time when the whole government was irresponsible and people had no voice in its administration the municipalities alone offered training in administration to the educated people of this country. But now the purpose of these Boards is to place the purely civic matters in which citizens are keenly interested and of which they are the best judges in the hands of the people and their elected representatives. It is felt that by this means the amenities of an urban life will be improved and the health and happiness of the masses properly looked after.

Duties of the Municipalities

Municipalities are concerned with a very wide range of subjects, such as the cleaning of streets, sanitation, superintendence of markets, prevention of disease, waterworks, etc. They have to see to the repair of roads, lighting, provision of cheap conveyance, etc. The municipalities are empowered to levy various kinds of taxes, such as taxes on cycles, motor cars, horses and bullock-carts. They may levy taxes also on goods imported into the city. Sometimes they also raise loans.

The Franchise

Municipal franchise is low, and all who pay a small tax or occupy houses of a small value, are enrolled as voters. The chairmen of most of the municipalities are elected.

District Boards

Lord Ripon established District Boards in 1882. The Local Boards were of three categories. A district was divided into various rural areas, in each of which there was a minor Board. The latter were controlled by the District Board, which

sent delegates to the District Council for the passing of measures affecting the district as a whole. These divisions were later on considerably modified in each province. In the United Provinces, a far-reaching measure was passed by the Legislative Council, in 1922, called the District Boards Act. It conferred extensive powers upon the District Boards and lowered the franchise. There are forty-eight District Boards in the United Provinces and the chairmen of all Boards are elected. The districts have been given the power to impose a tax for the purpose of developing education in their areas. They have charge of roads, sanitation, and elementary education within their jurisdiction.

The Panchayat is as old as Indian Society, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report emphasised its importance.

The Panchayats

Panchayats have been established in many villages in every province in British India, and have been invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases.

Both the Central and the Provincial Governments draw up a statement of their annual income and expenditure

The Income of the Government of India

for their respective legislatures, and it is presented every year. This is called the budget. There are certain heads of expenditure which the members cannot discuss. But there are others, and these form the majority, which they can discuss. Accordingly, when the budget is under discussion, it is a very busy time for the legislature, for then the members can discuss every department of the Government, and can criticise and ask the Government for information. They may either make a substantial reduction or they may move what are known as nominal cuts, with a view to discussing the policy underlying a particular item in the budget. The income of the Central Government is derived mainly from (1) customs duties, which are taxes on exports and imports and yield about 50 crores a year; (2) the salt-tax,

which yields about 8 crores; (3) the income tax, which brings in about 17 crores; (4) the monopoly of opium which yields a small profit of about 60 lakhs, and (5) the mint, which brings about 1 crore. A small revenue is also obtained from the State Railways and the Post Office, while some of the smaller Indian Princes pay tributes. The total income of the Government of India amounts to about 120 crores a year, out of which about 50 crores is spent on the army and about 30 crores in paying the interest on the capital invested in Railways, about 10 crores in paying interest on other Public debt, while the administration of the Chief Commissioners' Provinces (which are directly under the Government of India) costs about 10 crores.

The principal sources of the revenue of Provincial Governments are land, excise, forests, irrigation canals, stamps, registration and court-fees. The estimated revenues of the Provincial Governments for the year 1936–37 are Madras 16 crores, Bombay 12 crores, Bengal and the U.P. 11 crores, each, Panjab 10 crores, C.P. and Behar about 4.7 crores each. In most provinces the estimated expenditure exceeds the income.

It was Dalhousie who planned the Grand Trunk lines Lord Mayo added connecting links, and feeder lines.

Indian Railways

For a time financial difficulties prevented the construction of further lines. Later on, protective lines were added, to avoid the possibility of famine. The first ten thousand miles of railway took about fifty years to build; the next thirty years added 25,000 miles. The Great War stopped further construction, and progress was slow. The total mileage open at the end of 1933–34 was 46,910 miles, more than 21,000 miles on the broad, and a little over 17,000 on the metre gauge.

The Government of India have started a vigorous policy of railway development, and a number of large projects have been prepared by the Railway Board. Railways are

a central subject, and at first the railway budget formed part of the general budget of the Government of India. This prevented the public from knowing the net profit or loss on the working of the railways each year. Accordingly, in 1924, the Government of India made provision for the separation of the railway budget from the general budget.

The capital was originally raised by a free grant of land, and a guarantee of five per cent. interest. If the railway earned more than five per cent., half the surplus was to be given to the Government. As the companies were assured of five per cent. interest, they had no incentive for economy, and spent lavishly, with an utter disregard for the interests of the tax-payer. Their agents had little knowledge of India and were ignorant and sometimes inefficient. The Government of India decided to give no more guarantees, and to build its own railways. From 1869–70 it began to provide about two crores a year for the purpose. Owing to war and famine, the Government could not spend much. All contracts contained terms for the purchase by the State of Railways at stated periods. The East Indian Railway was acquired in 1880; the G.I.P. and the O.R. Railways have also been acquired and gradually all the important railway lines will be taken over by the Government. The Indian States have also built railways in their territories. Railways develop trade, promote intercourse, remove the barriers of distance, and are a very important factor in the growth of the Indian nation, and the solidarity of the Indian people.

Irrigation

A succession of famines affecting different parts of India during the nineteenth century gave an impetus to the construction of irrigation canals and other works. It was felt that Government should guard against famine by providing irrigation works and railway facilities for the easy transport of food grains in times of scarcity.

The first canal constructed by the British Government was the Upper Ganges canal which takes off at Hardwar. It was begun in 1847 and completed in 1853, and was for a long time the greatest work of its kind in the world. During its construction an Engineering College was established at Roorkee which has come down to our day and grown into the premier Engineering College in India.

A serious famine in Orissa in 1864 led to two important decisions by the Government—(1) Government would hold its officers responsible for any loss of life by famine; (2) Government would construct canals and other irrigation works and Railways with funds borrowed for the purpose as a protection against famine. It was however in Lord Curzon's time that on the recommendation of a Famine Commission (1901–3), an extensive programme of irrigation works was drawn up which has been slowly executed during the past thirty years. Many canals have been constructed in the Panjab and Sind where a great dam known as the Lloyd-Sukkur Barrage, the greatest work of its kind in the world, has been constructed for the purpose (1932). In the United Provinces, the Sarda Canal was constructed between 1923 and 1928 at a cost of 10 crores. A great reservoir built at Mettur on the Cauvery about 200 miles from its source serves as a great irrigation work.

Besides canals, efforts have been made recently to provide facilities for irrigation from wells by the establishment of Hydro-electric systems over large areas to provide cheap power. The United Provinces and the Panjab have developed these schemes rapidly.

Education

India has made rapid progress in education during the last ten years. The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857. Colleges were opened at Delhi, Lahore, and Agra, the Panjab University was founded in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887. At first the Indian Universities suffered from various drawbacks, and were handicapped by lack of equipment and proper teaching. They were,

however, the chief means of propagating western science and art. Indians imbibed the free and liberal culture of the West and began to compare their condition in India with the democratic governments of Europe. The leaders of Indian nationalism were recruited mostly from the Universities. They produced a band of earnest and intelligent patriots, whose zeal and persistence won for their country a series of political reforms.

Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854 had sketched a plan of organization which held the field for a long time. Each Presidency was to have an Education Department. Government Colleges, High Schools and Middle Schools were to be increased. Vernaculars were to be the media of instruction in the primary and lower primary stages. Government officers were to encourage education in every district. While University education made rapid progress, primary education was comparatively neglected. As municipalities developed, the spread of primary education was committed to their charge. The Hunter Commission appointed by Lord Ripon made several recommendations regarding primary education. It was to have the first claim upon such resources as were available for education. A great advance was made in primary education by the passing of Primary Education Acts in Bombay, the Panjab, the United Provinces and Behar and Orissa, between 1918–19. Similar Acts were passed in the Central Provinces and Madras. The Bombay and the United Provinces Acts apply only to the municipalities, while the others apply to district boards also. By these Acts, every municipal board has been given the power to introduce compulsory primary education in the whole or part of the area under its jurisdiction. When the Act is brought into force in a municipality, every child between the ages of six and ten or eleven is compelled to attend a school. Certain classes of children are exempted from attendance. The Sadler Commission of 1918 recommended the conversion of Indian Universities into

teaching, unitary and residential universities and the establishment of Intermediate Colleges. Education made great progress after the Reforms. Every province drew up a programme for the expansion of primary education.

The demand for free education has greatly increased, and people in the villages naturally desire to give their sons and daughters a good start in life. Primary schools have multiplied all over the country. As the franchise has been greatly lowered, and the number of voters for the Provincial and Federal Legislatures has been increased sixfold, the importance of primary education has consequently been emphasised by the voters. The rural areas, which lacked these facilities, are now demanding free education for their children.

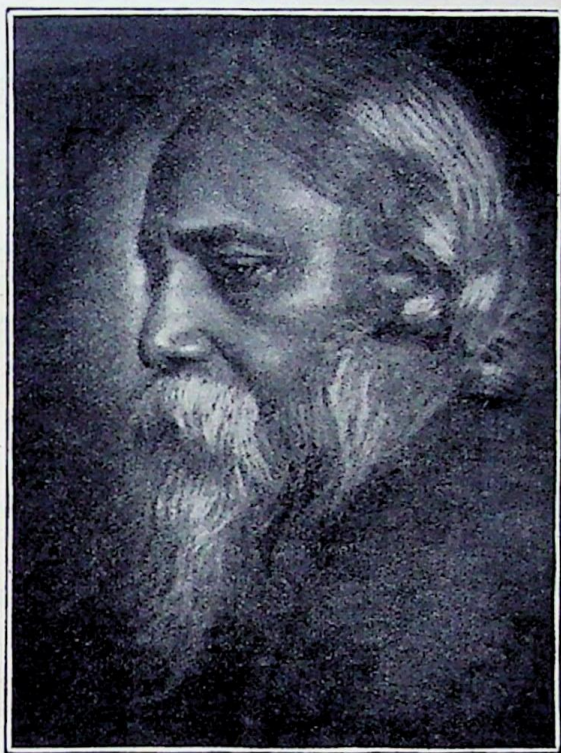
The Woman's Part in New India

The present century saw the rise of the woman's movement in India. Women in India had hitherto taken little part in the public life of their country. They had confined their activities to household duties, and were generally averse to mingling with men on public platforms. The Great War roused them, and a number of Indian women did most beneficial work for the relief of suffering. In India, as women do not compete with men for employment in public services or industry, the movement did not assume a violent character, as it did in some Western countries. Indian women had played a magnificent part in India in the past, and had ruled the States of Indore, Bhopal, and Travancore with great success. After the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms many provincial legislative councils conceded to them the right to vote for elections to legislatures. By 1930, this right had been conferred on women in every province. The Simon Commission declared that the women's movement held the key to progress. The number of female electors was, however, very limited. This defect has been removed in the new constitution, and it is calculated that the proportion of women voters to men will be one to four. Again

provision has been made for the representation of women in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures, and they will thus be able to put the woman's point of view before these bodies. A number of women's organisations provide an excellent means whereby their views on education, social reform, hygiene and other subjects can be voiced. There is a new life and activity among Indian women, and a new energy has been infused among them. This is part of the general awakening among Indians of all classes, and is an indication of a keen sense of Indian nationalism. Indian women are now busy spreading education, relieving misery and suffering, and fostering patriotism among all classes and communities. There is great scope for the enthusiasm and devotion of women in the fight against disease and the relief of suffering, and for many years the demand for women doctors and nurses to do the work which by custom is barred to men is likely to exceed the supply.

Social Progress

Indians made considerable progress in education and imbibed the free and liberal outlook from western writers. The writings of Burke and Macaulay produced a spirit of criticism and inquiry, and Indians began to advocate the reform of existing abuses, and the growth of a highly educated middle class greatly strengthened the new movement. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj and worked zealously for social reform. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the Anglo-Oriental Muhammadan College at Aligarh to popularise English education among Muslims. In Bengal there was an outburst of literary activity which was expressed in the development of the Bengali language and literature, and its most characteristic product is Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore. Tagore's poems are a household word, and he may justly be claimed as the national poet of India. Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the Panjab has also written many works, which are greatly admired in influential circles. Bengal led the way

in all movements, and she may be regarded as the pioneer of Indian progress. Other Provinces have now made great progress in the development of vernaculars and are politically alive. Newspapers and radio, railways and telegraphs have knit together communities and classes, provinces and states and Indian Nationalism is a creative force, with enormous possibilities.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

The depressed classes are scattered throughout India and their number has been estimated at fifty millions. In some provinces, such as Madras and the United Pro-

vinces, their proportion is larger, while in others such as the Panjab and the Frontier Provinces, it is much smaller. While it must be admitted that the treatment of these classes in the past left much to be desired, it must be noted that the problem is not now a matter of great practical difficulty. In Northern India particularly the distinctions are less rigid than in other parts and intercourse in public places is common. Nearly forty years ago, they were in a pitiable condition, and were subjected to many disabilities. But public feeling has been roused, and Indians of all classes and communities are united in improving their lot, and giving them facilities for education. Special schools have been created for these classes; scholarships are given to their children, and restrictions on their admission to offices have been removed. Numerous societies have been founded for their social and moral uplift, and they are all doing excellent work. Mahatma Gandhi has denounced untouchability in strong terms, and has worked with rare devotion for the Harijans. In 1920, the number of depressed class voters was small, and they could not consequently influence the elections to the legislatures. The new Act, however, has greatly increased this number, and depressed class voters will be able to exercise considerable influence. They will have 148 representatives in Provincial Legislatures, while in the Federal Legislature their proportion is considerable. The grant of political rights to these classes will increase their influence, and greatly help in raising them to an equality with other communities. It will naturally take them a long time to attain equality with other classes, but the time is not distant when they will occupy important positions in the public life of their motherland. The twin evils of poverty and ignorance from which they suffer can only be removed by devoted work and firm faith in their future.

The Depressed Classes

Faith in India's Destiny

India is on the eve of striking changes in the immediate future. Indians of all classes have faith in her destiny, and her rapid development in the twentieth century is the surest guarantee of her continued progress. The new generation is animated by a patriotism, in which devotion to our common motherland is supreme. In spite of differences, great and small, there is unity and solidarity. India has now reached a stage when her sons and daughters can take an equal part in the great movements of the world. Her enormous resources of industry and commerce have not yet been fully tapped, and are awaiting development. Her virile and hardy population is the pride of Asia, and its martial qualities have won admiration, honour and renown from times immemorial. Her culture, both ancient and modern, is the envy of many a less gifted race. She is a jewel set in the green meadows and fertile valleys of the Ganges and the love which her children bear to their common motherland is symbolised by festivals and ceremonies which keep the fires of patriotism burning in their breasts. She has passed through numerous changes; and has been ruled by a succession of foreign rulers. Though she has absorbed their culture and imbibed their spirit, she has maintained her vigorous individuality. Indians of all classes are determined to make a heroic effort for her social and political advancement. While her past has been glorious, she is determined to have a brilliant future, and to march ahead of other peoples in the quest for truth, beauty and civilisation.

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